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CHILD LABOUR IN ZAMBIA

An Analysis of the Extent,
Nature and Proposed Solutions
to the Problem

by

Peter Matoka

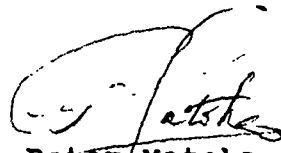
THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF
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DECLARATION

The work of this thesis was carried out in the Department of Sociology at the University of Warwick and in the field in the Republic of Zambia, and has not been submitted for any other degree or diploma in any University. This is the original work of the author except where otherwise acknowledged in the text.



Peter Matoka.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is centred on the problem of child labour in the urban areas of Zambia. The origins, types and context of child labour are extensively described as are the incidence and distribution of the problem by locality, trade and activity. The very definition of 'child labour' is uncertain with legal, historical, comparative, customary and academic definitions being somewhat contradictory. The differing notions are considered and reconciled. As child labour is mainly concentrated in the 'informal sector', the nature of this sector in Zambia and other poor countries is analysed. The limited opportunities for education, employment and productive and fulfilling self-employment in the informal sector are highlighted.

An account of the historical origins and development of child labour in the pre-colonial and colonial periods is provided. An assessment of the measures designed to control or ameliorate child labour follows. This covers the work of international organisations, the colonial and post-colonial governments in Zambia, the voluntary sector and concerned individuals. The effectiveness and coverage of the relevant international conventions and local legal provisions and enforcement are evaluated. The consequences on child labour of more recent interventions by international agencies, for example the Structural Adjustment Program of the World Bank, are illustrated.

Three main forms of analysis have been used in this thesis. First a descriptive account of child labour has been supplied using secondary accounts and unpublished reports. Second, the author has undertaken a comparative analysis, examining child labour in two other African countries as well as two countries in each of the continents of Asia and Latin America. Third, extensive interviews with child labourers themselves and those who are close to their plight have been undertaken, to provide the actor's own graphic and personal views on the issues discussed.

The thesis concludes with an appraisal of the significance of the study, general prescriptive comments and some more specific policy recommendations designed to address and combat the incidence and worst features of child labour in Zambia.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

- i. Introductory Remarks
- ii. The Problem
- iii. Hypotheses
- iv. Definitions
- v. Methodology
- vi. Concept of Child Labour and Review of
Literature
- vii. Laws against Child Labour
- viii. Conclusion

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The most precious and yet vulnerable groups in human society are children. As early as 1919, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) at its conference that year adopted the minimum age (Industry) convention (No.5) to get member states to ratify the age of 14 years as a minimum for admission to employment in Industry. The response was generally good but the convention did not go far enough as it was limited to industry.

In 1973, a general instrument aimed at the total abolition of child labour was adopted by ILO. It was called the comprehensive minimum age convention 1973 No. 138. This convention is now ratified by most member states of the United

Nations Organisation (UNO) who have adopted laws and regulations governing the minimum age for admission to employment in all sectors of the economy. A U.N. decade for children was observed from 1979 to 1989. One U.N. convention on the rights of the child, 1989 was adopted by most member states, September 1990 saw the holding of a World summit on the child at U.N. Headquarters. Resolutions of the summit are now being implemented by many countries.

In spite of the above achievements, child labour is still a very big problem in many parts of the World. The developing countries are the most affected, the ILO estimate is that about 50 million children of the World are actively involved in this scourge (Blanchard 1983).

The agricultural sector is where most of these children are concentrated, next are small-industry workshops, retail stores, restaurants, small establishments, street trade and the domestic service.

Child work takes many shapes. It is found in rural agricultural enterprise like farming, pastoral work, agro-industries and in urban domestic jobs and industries. In many respects, children work with, and for their parents. This work by children forms part of their training for adult responsibilities. It is a process of socialisation (De Souza

1979, Fyfe 1989, Rodgers and Standing 1981). Many more writers on the subject agree with this stand. They are also unanimous on the view that work performed by children (as a cheap substitute for adults) in hazardous conditions, depriving them of leisure, education and training, is child labour which should be condemned.

Child labour has become a problem in most developing countries. Its eradication is not in sight. National Legislatures have passed laws against this practice.

It is obvious that the practice of child labour is continuing in the developing world in spite of national laws and ILO conventions that have been adopted against it. According to authorities on the subject, poverty is the root of child labour; Tripathy (1989 p 26); Beguele and Boyden (1989 p 85); ILO Director General's report, 69th Session (1983 p 18) of extract edition. The question is; Is it possible to stop child labour before we remove the main cause, poverty?

The economies of most developing countries are poverty stricken. In Africa many countries have sunk economically since the Africans themselves took over the reigns of power. Structural adjustment programmes initiated by the economically powerful Western countries have been known to remedy the situation in African countries like Ghana. Such a programme

is in progress in Zambia where mismanagement of Government and fall in the price of copper, the main foreign exchange earner, have almost landed the country into bankruptcy. Hopes of recovery are very high, however, the irony of the structural adjustment programme is that initially it lands the population into a severe economic hardship. Market forces cause price hikes, schools demand economic fees and so do hospitals and rents. The African family has begun to depend very heavily on the working child to support the budget. The temptation to make their school going child to work as well has never been higher.

This study is based on Zambia, but in doing so I wish for comparative purposes to look at six other countries with a colonial past. In this way I may discover similarities and differences on the issue of child labour in developing countries.

This introductory chapter is made up of seven sections. Section A addresses the problem, Section B outlines the Hypotheses, Section C deals with definitions, Section D discusses Methodology, Section E looks at the concept of child labour and review of literature, Section F discusses laws and their effect on child labour in Zambia and Section G gives

the significance of the study

A. THE PROBLEM

Should the Zambian child continue to work for an income while at school or when he cannot find a school place? Sociologists have made a distinct difference between child work and child labour According to Fyfe (1988 p 4)

Work can be a gradual initiation into adulthood and a positive element in the child's development. Light work properly structured and phased, is not child labour Work which does not detract from the other essential activities for children, namely leisure, play and education is not child labour Child labour is work which impairs the health and development of children.

The Zambian parent should try to observe this difference stated by Fyfe A child who is not at school and not too young can be an asset to the parents economically by engaging in work that is not harmful. In this way he is also learning skills for his adulthood The problem is, in the present Zambian economic situation can people care to differentiate the tasks?

According to Bequele and Boyden (1988 p 24) children may

work and it is necessary for their future and adult responsibilities. This is socialisation but should not be:-

involved in employment a very early age.... are trapped in highly explosive and hazardous activities as brickmaking, construction, mining and deep-sea fishing----- for excessive long hours.

Child workers are cheaper than adults. They take up adults places in employment causing unemployment problems.

In this research it may not be possible to recommend stoppage of work by children altogether but to identify possible ways of protecting children from obvious dangerous jobs and occupations such as mining, stone breaking and nightwork. It will be an achievement if the research can appeal to parents and the government of Zambia to lay stress on the value of education. Parents should give priority to the education of their children and to their well-being as opposed to their being a mere source of revenue. Parents should look at education as an investment for them and for the country.

B. HYPOTHESES

From the discussion above the following hypotheses are

raised:-

- i) Child labour is prevalent in Zambia despite the country being a member of ILO and having ratified relevant conventions on child labour and has only responded in a limited way to Government attempts to reduce the prevalence.
- ii) Laws against child labour do exist on the Zambian statute Chapters 505 and 512, in particular, of the Laws of Zambia, but appear to be ineffective as they conflict with patterns of socialization and economic imperatives to use child labour.
- iii) Child labour in Zambia is predominant in the informal sector so an analysis of that sector is necessary to the interpretation.

C. DEFINITIONS

i) Child

One of the problems reflected in the literature on the study of child labour is the lack of consensus as regards who a child is.

Most studies on the subject have avoided the use of an age criterion for defining a child because of the following factors:-

- a) Variations from one society to another.

- b) The danger of Western perception of the age above which a child becomes an adult.
- c) Geographical variations (Rural/Urban) and differences according to social milieux.
- d) Differences in age limits according to the sex of the child.
- e) The methodological difficulty of follow-up, each child definition, passes beyond whatever limit is set (Morice 1988 p.137).

Morice has gone a step further to discard the idea of linking the definition of a child to schooling because schooling may sometimes be unnecessarily prolonged. In order to strike a compromise by avoiding the age or schooling criterion, Silva (1981 p.160) has defined a child as:-

Someone who needs adult protection for physical, psychological and intellectual development until able to become independently integrated into the adult world.

The essential condition of children is that they cannot survive without help, this help is normally provided by the family, and to an increasing extent by educational institutions, both arrangements

being recognised and supported by the law of the land. For Zambia however, the problem is solved by the provision of a definition of a child in the laws of the country, which define the child as a:- Person under the age of fourteen years (Sec 2 of Chapter 505 of the Laws of Zambia). The law does not go further than this, but is generally interpreted to include 14 years. For purposes of this study the definition is adequate.

ii) Labour

Having defined the "Child" let us now look at the term "Labour". McConwell (1981 p.24) points out that the economist uses the term labour to refer to all man's physical and mental talents usable in producing goods and services. thus the services of a ditch digger, retail clerk, machinist, teacher, professional footballer and nuclear physicist all fall under the general heading of labour. Reynolds (1970 p.26) has defined labour as:-

either as a stock of productive instruments existing at a point of time, or as a flow of services yielded by these instruments over time. In the stock sense labour is a totality

counted to be in the labour force, with whatever skills and productive capacity they possess at the moment, while in the flow sense labour is the number of man hours available or used in production over a period of time.

Cairncross (1973 p.41) describes labour as:-

the labour force, the group of workers who are either already in employment or are available of employment given the opportunity.

From the above definitions, it is apparent that several authors ignore the skills and productive capacities of children when defining labour. Writers on the subject tend to conceptualise labour in terms of human and mental effort in the process of production offered by the adults who are legally said to belong to the "Labour force". This tendency has resulted into a situation where the skills and productive capacities of persons regarded as children have been completely ignored. The exclusion of human and mental capacities of children in the definition of labour is perhaps

justified by the widely held view which is supported by some writers on child labour that children work illegally in most cases regardless of their productive capacities and skills. For example, we shall establish later that children work as farm labourers, industrial workers, house servants and street vendors. In view of the above, we shall state that in this thesis, the term labour shall mean:-

The human and mental effort in the process of production offered by persons who belong to the labour force as well as the children who are in a position to work.

iii) Informal Sector

In this context, the informal sector refers to that field in which trade of individuals, small scale productive trading industries in an urban environment are characteristically set to take on labour which cannot be absorbed in the wage sector, a large proportion of its employees are self-employed. Characteristics of the informal sector are: (i) ease of entry; (ii) reliance on indigenous resources; (iii) family ownership of enterprises.

(iv) small intensive and adapted technology; (v) labour intensive and adapted technology; (vi) unregulated and competitive markets. I would add that the informal sector is now the home of working children who try to make a living for themselves and for their families because of the easiness of access to it on the one hand, and the increasing harsh economical conditions of living on the other hand. Children are rare in the formal sector. This is confirmed by the Ministry of Labour, whose inspections of formal institutions are thorough, and because of adult unemployment.

(iv) Street child

In this study a street child refers to a child who has made the street his permanent home and a place from which to struggle for survival since his own natural parents have written-him-off so to speak. Examples abound in streets of Brazil.

D. METHODOLOGY

The data in this thesis was collected in the following ways:-

Primary Sources:-

- a) These comprised firstly Government files and correspondence on the subject of labour generally and child labour in particular from the time of the colonial administration in 1924 to the independence

period. As the author was a member of the Zambian Government files access was unrestricted. To this end over the last four years the author read confidential as well as open annual and seasonal reports on the subject from the Ministries of Labour and Social Services as well as from the Zambian Archives.

- b) In similar vein, the author discussed all matters pertaining to the subject with past and present members of the Government and Ministries who were privileged to have been senior officers in the relevant Ministries. Some of these people are named in the thesis under interviews. The author wrote to some former colonial administrators whom he worked with in the Civil Service before Independence e.g. Mr. H.R. Beck, former District Commissioner in Northern Rhodesia in the 1950's and 60's, now on the staff of Cambridge University.
- c) The author having been a senior Civil Servant before independence and a politician at Cabinet level at and after independence a period of over 40 years, had personal knowledge of many happenings in Government and outside Government that are relevant

to the subject. For instance, he was a Community Development Officer, Minister of Health, Minister of Local Government and Housing, Chairman of Social and Cultural Committee of the ruling Party and a member of several Cabinet Committees. He dealt with and supervised resettlement programmes of rural people settling into urban areas.

- d) The author has personal unpublished reports by Government and correspondence from the public on matters related to urban housing, urban school and health projects. He led a Ministerial team to Washington in 1974 for discussions on up-grading of squatter compounds in urban Zambian towns. Literature on this mission is in the author's custody.
- e) Over the last three years the author has had oral discussions with church leaders, politicians, women's organisation (NGO) leaders, and Heads of U.N. and other public organisations. He has had discussions with Ambassadors from many developing countries on child labour in their countries.
- f) Zambian Daily and Weekly papers in particular Times of Zambia and Daily Mail were daily available to

the author, as a Government leader. Over the past five years he has been scrutinising them and has cuttings of information and photographs covering the subject of Zambian children and social development highlights. The author has been following debates in the Zambian Parliament through the Hansard. The author has read ILO conventions on child labour.

- g) As an African person, the author has grown up within Zambia and is acquainted with rural as well as urban life over a life time. He has been engaged in non-participant observation of the problem under study for many years.

ii) Secondary Sources

- a) A comprehensive review of secondary material on child labour was undertaken including a comparative study of India, Philippines, Mexico, Brazil, Nigeria and Kenya apart from Zambia, the author obtained some books and pamphlets from Ambassadors and High Commissioners accredited to Zambia from these countries.
- b) The Libraries of Zambian Parliament, University of Zambia, City of Lusaka and those of personal

friends have been very useful to the author who has been patronising them over the past three years. Data from the Central Statistical Office of Zambia has been obtained at regular intervals.

- c) The Warwick University Library and libraries of the author's supervisors have been useful.

iii) Fieldwork Interviews

In obtaining interviews from 100 Zambian children the author selected children at random representing main townships in Lusaka the capital city and on the Copperbelt, for urban areas. He also obtained interviews from 100 rural children in Mwinilunga District, a remote district which has received very little development since independence. The author originally came from that district. He interviewed the children in their own language.

The author selected the ages of 8 years to 15 years. At first he wanted to limit the age to 14 years, but thought of allowing an extra year since the interviews were taken one year after embarking on the study.

It was important to vary "professions" as much as possible in order to have a representative team of the occupations in which most children are involved.

As far as possible the author avoided third parties. He spoke to the children directly at their place of work. It was necessary to establish a relationship of some kind before interviews. This was achieved by, in some cases, a few visits to the premises prior to interview. In some cases he actually bought some item like a packet of cigarettes or sweets.

It was also necessary to offer other children a chance to speak even if they were only drawn to the scene by curiosity, in order to put the targets at ease.

The author has kept in regular touch with some children in Lusaka as he intends to follow their progress in their occupations.

A cross section of the ethnic groups in Zambia was taken into consideration as Lusaka is the capital of Zambia harbouring people from all over Zambia.

Both sexes were involved and both educated and completely uneducated were considered. The author was impressed by the co-operation received from most children. Those who were unwilling to co-operate were not compelled. On the contrary, when children see one talking about his or her performance, all of them want to tell their story.

The author displayed simplicity and familiarity in order

to make the children feel free. He did not bribe any child nor did he offer any payment for information. The interviews were obtained over six months in Lusaka and the Copperbelt and another 6 months in Mwinilunga, in 1990.

He had attempted to use a Tape Recorder but gave it up as he overheard one child say, "your voice will go. You will remain dumb." The child being interviewed looked scared. So the author dropped the idea, and wrote the answers in long hand at the author's office

QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire was given at the beginning of the exercise in the majority of cases, but when it became necessary, it was given at the end repeating some of the questions already answered in the child's statement. It must be pointed out that in drawing up the questionnaire, care had to be taken to ask very simple questions (see Chapter VI for further information).

E. CONCEPT OF CHILD LABOUR AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

i) General

The one area that appears to suffer from lack of consensus is the concept of child labour, some writers, like Schildkrout, believe that in most cases the

definitions of child labour are inadequate and inconsistent because the data base of many statements about child labour is often marred by an inadequate and inconsistent definition of work as well as by value judgement (1981 p. 81).

She points out that most of the definitions of child work used in labour force surveys and censuses are based on participation in the wage labour force and yet most children's work takes place outside the wage labour sector. Indeed the estimate of 56 million working children by the International Labour Office is based on this inadequate definition of child work. Silva appears to agree with Schildkrout and therefore suggests that child work should include unpaid conventional work such as self employment, domestic services and unpaid work. He suggests further that the concept of work be broadened to read "any socially useful remunerable activity requiring manual and or the intellectual effort and conscious purposive action that is the production of a good or performance of a service (Silva 1981 p.166). Using this definition, Silva has suggested that the activities of children should be classified into four broad categories namely:-

Conventionally paid work, which is applied to adult wage labour; unconventional paid work e.g. pickpocketing, prostitution; conventionally unpaid work, e.g. house cleaning; unconventional unpaid work, such as serving tea in a home. We shall discuss these typologies in Chapter II.

Writers on child labour have revealed the variety of jobs involved. Rodgers and Standing have spoken of children being involved in big carpet factories in Morocco. They are preferred to adults because of their docility, fast fingers, cheap labour and absence of labour litigations Rodgers and Standing (1981 p. 7). Bequele and Boyden (1988 p 167) cite examples of children of poor relatives being recruited as workers on the pretext that they are going to be looked after and educated by their rich extended family relatives. They end up as suppliers of cheap labour. Sometimes parents and employers are in league for financial gains. Children are also hired on migratory contracts to work on farms away from their parents. They are looked after by bigger children who are supervisors of their master. These children are often physically assaulted while they work under hazardous conditions. Agnelli (1986 p. 46) writes of

street children in Mexico, Latin America as outcasts, vicious and reckless vagabonds, children who have come to hate society for being neglected at home and being thrown to hazardous conditions to work for survival. Blanchard rules out effective schooling for many child labourers because of the severity of work, they come back home tired (69th ILO report extract p7). According to Spargo, (1969), children are most vulnerable to the dictates of factory and farm masters.

School children get hired for farm harvesting work by arrangement with their Headmasters. Spargo (1969) writes of children being preferred to adults in Murano Glass Factories in Venice due to their docility and are quick with their fingers. Fyfe (1980) supports this view. He cites children in Indian carpet factories, abattoirs, garages and paper selling shops.

In Kano, Nigeria, under the cover of religion, Hausa women who are purdah (veiled) use children on errands for little or no wages. The practice continues until the women reach menopause (Schildkrout 1981). Traditionally, the writer points out, children in Nigeria subject themselves to the authority of the elders including elder brothers and foster parents. Advantage has been taken of

this practice to exploit cheap labour from children, Wallman (1979) supports this view. Child fostering is also prevalent in Ghana on Cocoa Plantations (Rodgers and Standing 1981).

In 1973, ILO, introduced, the comprehensive minimum age convention, 1973 (No.138) with the aim of total abolition of child labour. Many countries of the world have ratified this convention, Zambia included. The world still experiences incidents of children working as long as 15 hours a day, children working underground in mines, bonded children, children working in pesticide-soaked fields, children in street trades, and children working under many hazardous conditions with grave risks to their lives.

At this point in our discussion it is important to point out that the problem of child labour is not new to Zambia or is it new to the world as a whole. In primitive society the child always worked (Orde-Browne 1933) and so does it in modern society. Alec Fyfe (1988 pp. 21-22) recognises the importance of work contribution from the child for socialisation. He even goes further to distinguish between child labour and child work.

Child work becomes child labour when it threatens the

health and development of children. It is child labour, and not all child work, that one is trying to root out. After all, child work can be positive experience and, in the best circumstances, children work to prepare themselves for productive adult life. Through their work they can learn the skills of their parents, and neighbours. Therefore, children's work can be integral part of family life and can contribute to their healthy development. It can also build their confidence and self esteem. Child work can then be a painless and gradual initiation into adult life.

We must not fall into the temptation of condemning child labour altogether. Fyfe may try to make a distinction between child labour and child work but the distinction is not that easy. When for instance does work turn into labour? To merely say hazardous and a danger to health is not adequate. The ILO has tried to make the distinction a little clearer. In the extract from the report of the Director General to the International Conference, 69th Session, 1983 the relevant passage reads:-

Child labour is still a widespread and perhaps even growing phenomena in much of the world

today. While many of the children who are working are engaged in activities permitted by national and international standards, many more are working in violation of these standards. Such is the case, for example, of:- Young girls working in small industrial enterprises in tasks that involve handling microscopically fine wires, finally resulting in loss of eyesight within five to eight years. Shepherd boys subcontracted to owners of large estates to work for as long as 15 hours a day.

Children working underground in mines. Children employed as seasonal and cheap labourers in working pesticide-soaked fields.

Children working in numerous small industrial workshops and service establishments. Children in street trades practically ubiquitous in the developing world.

The above passage helps to distinguish between child work performed in preparation for adult responsibilities and child labour forced on young children prematurely. ILO conventions and national legislation on child labour have assisted to guide

nations on the conditions under which minors may work where they are legally allowed to do so. The real problem is the gap between law and practice. Many countries find it difficult to enforce the laws prohibiting child labour particularly in the informal sector. The field is too vast to patrol. The variety of jobs is indescribably wide. No Government in the developing world has enough manpower to cope with the responsibility. Besides, because of poverty, parents and employers tend to co-operate in making the law ineffective. It is also important to note that provision of more school facilities will not on its own invite attendance from children in areas where labour is required to meet the subsistence needs of impoverished families (Rodgers and Standig 1981).

In the formal sector modern machinery replaces children's participation, and Government inspectors have easy access to institutions and factories of national significance. Hence the problem of child labour in this sector is not very pronounced. To say it is not there, is wishful thinking. It does exist, but somewhat controlled.

ii) Causes of Child Labour

Some writers on the subject seem to suggest that causes

of child labour are poverty and socialization. While it is correct to say POVERTY is one of the main causes of child labour, socialization is not; it is only a means to acquire adult skills by helping with traditional domestic and kinship jobs and skills. It is a training period in domestic routine. It is the opposite of child labour. This is the view of ILO. Blanchard (1983) states: "Child labour is rooted in poverty." Unemployment and underemployment, precarious incomes, low living conditions, and insufficient opportunities for education and training are its underlying causes. Children have to work to supplement incomes of their parents which in many developing countries have continued getting eroded by the ever rising inflation (Slazar 1988). Children must work to the survival of their families often depends on them and this overriding responsibility effectively deprives them choice (Benquele and Boyden 1988 p.7). According to Fyfe (1989 p.11) in Africa, 20 percent of children under 15 years are said to be working. In some African cities, children constitute 17 percent of the total work-force.

Poverty aside, we know that children in developing Africa are victims of kinship ties which subject them to live with and work for their uncles and other family members.

They are involved in the daily lives of their guardians. A farmer expects his children and extended family to assist with farm work. Similarly a fisherman will go fishing with his children and nephews. Cooking, cleaning, child care and other domestic duties are undertaken by the girls in the family. But domestic work as it has been defined, becomes child labour, if it denies children their right to play, to learn and to enjoy a normal childhood (Fyfe 1988 p 4). Many girls do miss educational and recreational opportunities because of a heavy domestic work burden. On the other hand it can be said that some children develop their own initiative and develop independently of parental chains. They enter the informal sector. This is because it is easy to be employed in the informal sector. Indeed some of these children work because they enjoy doing so and are able to make large sums of money through their own initiative.

Some children graduate from apprenticeship factories of an informal nature. They take their training seriously and set themselves up in businesses of their profession. The case histories in this thesis show how successful some children have been as blacksmiths, tyre menders,

cigarette sellers and shoe polishers to mention a few. So it is not correct to generalise that all apprenticeship centres in Africa, are fake or used by the owners to entrench cheap child labour.

There are children who crave to be cattle ranchers. So from an early age they work as herdboys so that over a given period they acquire two or three herd of cattle as payment for their labour. With these they make an impressive start in life. Again this comes out in my case histories later on. Here child labour is dictated by ambition or imitation of those who have succeeded in similar ventures.

Lack of school places has been responsible for many who would otherwise have been school children finding employment in the informal sector, as is contained in the case histories. National poverty or inadequacies result in young children finding their feet in the fields of employment. In Zambia, this study will reveal whether it is possible for children to abandon work in favour of school and leisure. The economic hardships are such that children of the average family cannot stay away from work. They have to support their parents economically. In both urban and rural Zambia poverty demands that all

should work for survival.

Finally, children in all societies do one kind of work or another. But the extent and nature of their work is influenced mainly by the structure of the economy and the level and pace of development. The Government and its well wishers can best help the situation by pressing for better working conditions and better wages for children. We all know that schools cannot be built overnight to cater for all children. Even if this miracle took place, there is no way children can abandon their survival responsibility - work.

In agrarian societies work by children is an integral part of the socialisation process and means of transmitting traditionally acquired skills from generation to generation. Participation by children in work makes a contribution to domestic or non-domestic production and 'pays for' their consumption requirements. The division of labour is very much based on sex, age and physical capacity. Work of this kind has its health and safety hazards and affects children's future social status that is whether or not they will enter the child labour market. If they end up working long hours for low

wages in hazardous situations the chances are that they are in the child labour group, which might be inevitable for survival. This brings me to the subject of conditions of work attached to child labour.

We are confronted by the prevalence and severity of child exploitation in the developing world, the employment of children in tasks or under conditions that jeopardise their physical and mental well being, the extraction of profits from child labour by their being paid low wages, the denial to children of their right to play, to learn, to enjoy a normal childhood. These challenges call for action.

Low remuneration and excessive hours of work have been known to characterise child labour. There are cases where children have been bonded or exploited without pay by mutual arrangements between parents and employers. Hazardous work and unsafe conditions cause grave dangers to the safety of children, such assignments as working underground in mines and being exposed to dangerous machinery. In construction work children are vulnerable to falls and to injuries from falling objects. Lack of safety clothing, the unsafe use of electricity, presence of fumes, poor lighting and lack of training and

experience in handling tools, all these cause anxieties on behalf of children. But are these hazards exclusive to children? Adults are equally, exposed to them. Children work with parental consent. Parents weigh the dangers against the benefits and hope for the best.

iii) Effects of Child Labour

The effects of child labour are quite diverse, the following are thought to be among the most common:-

a) Children are denied the opportunity to acquire skills

In a majority of cases, children who work either combine work with education or abandon education and concentrate on work. Boyden (1988) observes that grossly overworked children are found to be less alert, less industrious and less regular in school attendances, and consequently are at a constant disadvantage throughout their school years and even later. Parents should be made to know that they cannot have it both ways. Good education should be sacrificed for. Should they divide children for school and for work?

Since children have no rights as workers, employers take advantage of this and have a firm grip on the

children, making them work long hours in order to enable the children earn a meagre income they need for their livelihood. This therefore means that in a majority of cases, children are likely to leave school and concentrate on work. This deprives children of the opportunity to acquire the necessary skills and abilities to enable them to secure formal employment where such employment exists, or engage in self employment.

b) Children are exposed to exploitation

It has already been observed that children employed as child labourers have no rights as workers. Due to this, children's work is always undervalued. In most cases their wages are always below the minimum wage. As if this is not enough, children do not receive any fringe benefits given to the adult workers (Benquele and Boyden, 1988). This is because in most, if not all cases, children may not be allowed to belong to a trade union. These are the rights they should fight for. They are workers without any rights and their work is looked upon as casual work. Benquele and Boyden point out that the exploitation of children is rife in the

informal sector.....where employers flout the legislation. The public should fight to improve the informal sector to have it upgraded to the formal sector so the children can have protection.

c) Children risk the danger of serious disabilities

Apart from being exploited, working children are said to be exposed to a lot of hazards and risks in physical development. This is because children in several cases are made to work in conditions which are unhealthy and the type of work involved is normally unknown to children. The work may involve carrying cement, cement blocks, logs and heavy boxes at a very early age. Boyden (1988 p.4) cites such cases in Bogota.

She points out that children are more liable than adults "to suffer occupational injuries owing to inattention, fatigue, poor judgement and insufficient knowledge of work processes and also because the equipment, machinery, tools and layout of most work places are designed for adults." This is where parents must exercise their discretion before children start working. Should they engage children in risky jobs?

d) Children are exposed to crime

It has been argued that working children risk becoming criminals because work exposes them to violence (Agnell 1986 p.46). Thus working children are always threatened with violence by those who are older than them and by the working environment. So to avoid being a victim of violence, children learn violence at a very early age. In Brazilian streets this is common. Sometimes children leave home for work or for the street not for economic reasons alone, but for lack of love at home. In foster homes desertions on account of lack of love are very common.

iv) Forms of Child Labour

There are many forms in which child labour features. These are categorised by different writers on the subject. I will deal with these in Chapter II.

F. LAWS AGAINST CHILD LABOUR

1. The Law and the Child

In many countries there are specific laws protecting the child from the exploitation of labour at an early age. Each country has its own definition of a child in terms of years or activity such as the time for circumcision or

puberty ceremonies. The ILO has assisted countries by providing concrete suggestions on the basis of age, as to the minimum requirements for specific jobs. The comprehensive minimum age Convention (No.138) adopted by States is a clear example of legislation aimed at eliminating child labour in the world. In addition to this legislation, national legislatures have come up with laws to guide states in this regard. Accordingly, the Zambian Government has its own set of laws with regard to the child. These are discussed at length in Chapter V. In this Chapter reference will be made only to those laws which guide us on the age and employment of the child.

2. The Employment Act (Cap 512)

The Employment Act - Chapter 512 of the Laws of Zambia, was passed in 1971 to replace the employment of Natives Ordinance of 1929. Section 12 provides for the minimum contractual age of 15 years except for those exempted under the Education Act Cap.234 for purposes of working to pursue their education.

3. The Employment of Women, Young Persons and Children Act (Cap 505)

Under Section 2 of this Act the definition of the child is provided as a person under the age of 14 years.

Under Section 3 of this Act employment of children is forbidden in the following industrial undertakings:-

- i) Mines, quarries and other works for extraction of minerals from the earth.
- ii) Industries in which articles are manufactured, altered, cleaned, repaired, ornamented. Finished, adapted for sale, broken up or demolished, or in which materials are transformed including ship building, the generation transformation of electricity or motive power of any kind.
- iii) Transport undertaking, for example, railway and harbours and waterways.
- iv) Cordwood cutting,

but does not include commercial or agricultural undertakings or in which only members of the same family are employed, or to work done by children in technical schools or institutions approved by the Ministry of Education. According to this law, domestic work of the nature of socialization was never prohibited. Nor was work connected with institutions of learning prohibited. The four exceptions above coincide with work connected with hazards and health dangers typical of the type that is condemned for children.

4. The ILO Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138)

was ratified by Zambia in 1976 which also accepted Recommendation No. 146 accompanying it. Since then steps

have been taken to ensure that all children attend school and receive free basic education, that is grades 1 to 7. However, because of the high population growth rate estimated at 3.7 per cent per annum, the resources of the state of Zambia are yet unable to allow for an increase in the number of school places in keeping with the number of children anticipating entering the school system each year. In order to get round this, the Ministry of Education is authorised to have a shift system so that the same existing classrooms can cater for a greater number of school children.

5. Extent of the Problem of Child Labour

Since no survey has as yet been carried out, there is no data to determine the extent of child labour in the country. In general terms, the problem is prevalent in the informal sector, as will be seen later, especially in the domestic service and commercial business such as street and market vending. The problem is made severe by the fact that a large number of children does not enter the school system, as pointed out earlier, due to limited school places, particularly in the urban areas. Other children drop out at the age of 13 and 14 years and are left to fend for themselves without basic skills. As

parents themselves do not find it easy to make ends meet, they encourage their children who are not going to school to find employment in order to supplement the family incomes (Vol 1, Fourth National Development Plan 1989 Chapter VI p 52).

6. Government Efforts to Combat Child Labour

In its efforts to combat the problem of Child Labour, the Government through the Ministry of Labour and Social Development, operates a Labour Inspection Services Wing to undertake regular inspections of townships and work establishment to check on 'stray' children. Due to constraints in resources, these inspections do not cover the informal sector and even if they did, parents and employers connive to keep children at work. In any case, school leavers who cannot find school places or those who run away cannot be taken back to school. They cannot be sacked from work either if they are in the informal sector. School becomes a hated institution if the child is sacked or rejected on account of incompetence or lack of fees. Mendelievich (1980 p.9) confirms that children may feel obliged to work because they are doing badly at school and because there is no other alternative.

In the formal sector, inspections prove useful because

employers fear the wrath of the law.

7. Child Labour in the Informal Sector

An analysis of case studies confirm that in Zambia like in other developing countries, child labour is prevalent in the informal sector where a variety of job opportunities are available for children of all ages on both self-employed and wage employed basis. The subject is discussed in Chapter VI.

G. SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

This study is an attempt to bring to light the presence of child labour in Zambia to scholars and administrators so that the scourge can be faced squarely. The extent of the problem is so large that I would be deceiving myself to imagine that there is a cure to it. At the same time I believe that exposing the practice will enable the people of Zambia to find ways and means of cushioning its harmful effect. I believe that the Government can introduce measures that will remove the sting out of child labour. Nobody is suggesting that the children should not work to raise some money for their needs. The African family is normally large comprising of about five to nine children. The extended family system often brings the family unit sometimes to twelve children under

one roof. In the old colonial days the head of the family received a ridiculously low salary as a teacher, a clerk or a medical orderly. His expenditure was equally small because the basic foodstuff, namely mealie-meal cost very little. Schools and hospitals were free. His means of transport to work was a bicycle; it cost very little. His wife was able to commute between the village and the place of work to fetch additional food from home in the way of sweet potatoes or sugar cane grown by the old mother. With the attainment of independence, salaries shot up although productivity remained low or even dropped. Take for example a bricklayer who used to lay 400 bricks a day now lays 100 only. House rents have gone up. Schools demand economic fees, hospitals demand fees. Bicycles are out of fashion and very expensive. Buses demand high fares to and from work. Foodstuff costs a lot more. The head of a family cannot earn enough money to maintain his family, so his wife and children must engage in some trade to raise just enough money for survival. If the wife and children are breaking stones on Kafue Road for construction purposes, where do you find the courage to tell them the children must stop working because the job is hazardous. These

are harsh realities about child labour in Zambia. With the advent of the structural adjustment programmes the ordinary man and woman is biting the bullet. The market economy is ruling.

This study will seek suggestions from the general public on how children can be supported while they work. They could for instance register with the Government for regular examinations while at work. Employers could be directed by the Government to provide clean drinking water and basic meals to children. Employers would be persuaded to pay the children at the same rate as adults. For those in the construction field the Government could insist on simple up grading courses from which children would get certificates of competence in their trades. Old pre independence Development Centres at all Provincial Headquarters could be revived to provide seasonal handcraft courses to adults and children to give them confidence in their skills. If and when trained children acquire jobs in the formal sector, well and good for the Zambian society. Once working children acquire confidence in their skills, they will demand better pay and better working conditions to the satisfaction of Government and the ILO.

The study will investigate the possibility of upgrading townships which harbour the informal sector by Government insisting on better houses with such social facilities as roads, playgrounds, schools, clinics waterborne system of toilets and other facilities obtainable in modern cities. In this way employment in these townships will be controlled by the formal sector rules.

CONCLUSION

Chapter I began with introductory remarks of a general nature emphasising the gravity of the problem of Child Labour in developing countries as well as in developed countries. It was pointed out that the problem was more acute in developing countries. We were warned that the practice exists both in rural as well as urban areas. The tendency is towards urban areas where job opportunities abound. Hence, a marked movement by people with their children from rural to urban areas in the first decade after independence, 1964 to 1974. In Zambia, the definition of the child being a person of 14 years and below by law avoids controversy on the status of a child. The methodology used is a fair and simple one which involves picking children between 8 and 15 years and interviewing them from the undisputable location of their occupation. No difficulties were experienced in the exercise.

Children gave their co-operation in explaining their experiences at work. The fieldwork period of six months in urban and six months in rural areas was judged adequate.

Key concepts were discussed under the literature review. Apparently, causes, forms and effects of child labour throughout the world have a common nature. What became obvious that poverty was not the only source of child labour, but it was so strong in developing countries that there seemed to be no way of abolishing the practice. Alternatives will be considered in the ensuing chapters.

It has been pointed out that member states of the International Labour Organisation have benefited greatly from conventions originating from ILO on the prevention of child labour. They have initiated and passed legislation against child labour. To combat the scourge, however, has not been easy. In the formal sector some successes have been recorded because man is being replaced by machinery in heavy industries, and because inspection of premises and labour is relatively easy. On the other hand in the informal sector the problem has spread because the nature of the work is very undefined; it ranges from domestic work to street vending. Laws and conventions alone are inadequate. There is great need for public awareness and participation in advocacy by

children themselves. Funds are required for more schools and school places, for more training institutions and trained instructors. The Government, parents, church leaders, lawyers and teachers need to put their heads together to identify short and long term solutions to the problem.

CHAPTER II

ORIGINS AND TYPES OF CHILD LABOUR

1. INTRODUCTION
2. POVERTY IN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES
3. POVERTY IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
4. KINSHIP
5. RELIGION
6. TIED OR BONDED LABOUR
7. TYPES
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CHAPTER II

ORIGINS AND TYPES OF CHILD LABOUR

INTRODUCTION

In Chapter I, we defined child labour and spoke of this problem in the world today. In this chapter we shall attempt to deal with its origins and the types in which it features. Many writers on the subject have identified child labour with poverty. Blanchard (1983) for example, has declared child labour as being rooted in poverty. He says unemployment and underemployment, precarious incomes, low standards of living and insufficient opportunities for education and training, are its underlying causes. It is the vulnerability of children, the lack of protection, damage to education, health and development and the involvement of children in illegal and dangerous work that have given rise to international protests. These concerns have given rise to advocacy on the rights of the children. The increasing awareness of the non-governmental organisations to the sufferings of the child has caused governments to legislate against child labour but the extent of poverty in the third world prevents any legislation being effective. It is possible that once we get to the root cause of the problem we may be approaching the solution to it.

In this chapter we shall try to examine origins of child labour such as poverty, kinship, religion, bonding, slavery and broken homes to seek possible solutions to the practice.

POVERTY IN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

It is correct to say the problem of child labour existed in Britain long before the Industrial Revolution but was not prevalent until 1780 to 1850 when the Industrial Revolution was at its peak. In its wake the first widespread exploitation of child workers found its way into the cities' newly established industries. Children of the ages of 5 years and older were taken on to service these industries in various ways. They were made to work 14 to 16 hours a day under conditions which were very detrimental to their health. They worked underground in the mines as well as in glass factories on the surface. They cleaned the chimneys and worked in hostels and restaurants. These children fed on very little food and had very little rest. Their accommodation conditions were poor. They were crowded in hostels with little or no ventilation from where they went for work very early. They were joined by rural children who were recruited in big numbers per day. Some worked in the coal mines, some in the pottery industries and others in textile mills. In 1833, a Factory Act was passed setting the minimum age of 9 years work in the textile factories. The Mines Act of 1842 prohibited the employment of children under 10 years and women from working underground. In 1867 further legislation was passed

to protect children in all factories and workshops. The Education Act of 1880 made school attendance compulsory, but school fees were not abolished until 1892. There were many young children who were beyond the reach of these laws and regulations. Boy labourers were known to exist in all trades and they were popular because they were cheap. Garment industries started recruiting young girls. Then followed a flock of girls from rural England to work as domestic servants. Soon other girls followed to work in shops, factories, and domestic service. Those girls who remained in rural areas worked in rural-based industries such as lace-making, straw plaiting and glove making.

The situation continued to persecute children until the turn of the century, when the Employment of Women, Children and Young Persons Act of 1920 laid down 14 years as the minimum age for full-time employment in factories. The 1944 Education Act extended compulsory schooling to 15, it was further extended to 16 years in 1970s when child labour became casual and part-time. This is how Britain, an industrialized and developed country experienced child labour. Today, cases of child labour in England are known to exist in the form of 'sweated' labour and other isolated places but for reasons other than poverty. According to Fyfe (1988 p.4):-

The transition to industrial capitalism has been associated in industrialized countries with a long-term

decline in child employment.

POVERTY IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

In Morocco, child labour emanates from poverty. In many carpet industries very young children are employed over long hours for little pay. Fyfe (1988 p. 123) has this to say:-

In 28 factories/workshops at least one-third of the workers were under 12, sometimes as many as three-fifths. These children were often only eight, nine or ten years old. Conditions were bad. Hours were long. Half of the sample exceeded the 48-hour legal maximum for a week's work for adults. Five worked 60-64 hours a week and two 72 hours a week. Wages were meagre with so-called apprentices earning nothing. Some girls had worked for 16 months as unpaid apprentices. This is an example of the corruption of the old craftsman-apprentice structure under which a qualified craftsman, a maalema, supplies her own team and is paid for the work she produces. In turn she pays her workers as she sees fit.

This is a typical example of a sub-contracting system to the factory which is detrimental to the children but convenient for the factory owners. The employer pays the maalema per square metre worked and has no further responsibility towards the children. He further escapes the wrath of the law. Where poverty means children must undergo this type of treatment, governments are right to legislate against child labour. People have a right to protect the child from exploitation.

There must be ways to find easier solutions to poverty. It makes child labour in Zambia look like simple socialisation in a home.

These two examples of poverty stricken children in Britain and Morocco illustrate what a government can or cannot do for her people. In Britain we have seen that through legislation and industrial revolution the country's economic position changed. The change wiped out child labour. In Morocco on the other hand government and people took no steps to improve the situation. Today the situation remains the same. Children continue to work.

Morocco like Zambia are third world countries in Africa that have been subjected to poverty through maladministration after colonialism. African countries have experienced droughts and floods. Famine drives people into already congested urban centres. The continent has been a playground for super-power war games. It is countries like these on whom structural adjustment initiatives have been launched by Western 'powers'. Poverty stricken countries like Zambia today look to children to support their families in the battle to survive. What has brought about this poverty in Zambia?

At the dawn of independence, in 1964 Britain, the colonising power left the country with a billion pounds sterling in savings, the new government found it fit to spend that money on promised schools; hospitals, road infrastructure and recruitment of consultants to build Zambia. Hardly a decade

passed before further demands were made on the treasury. Mozambique and Angola raided Zambia for assistance to gain their independence. Zambia obliged in sterling, property and manpower. A little later Zimbabwe's birth was on the horizon. Again Zambia obliged economically by insisting on border closure. This exercise cost the already ruined economy millions of sterling worth of business with South Africa and Rhodesia, formerly the trading partners.

The introduction of the one-party state in Dec. 1972, with its party supremacy over the government meant that all party cadres were not only paid from the already strained government coffers, but higher salaries than their government equivalents in the civil service. A member of the central committee of the party was rated higher than a cabinet minister. This arrangement had many flows in it to the detriment of the smooth running of the Government. The morale of the civil service reached its lowest ebb. Bad governance stepped in. For another decade the Zambian economy glided to its ruins. This was in the 1980s when the population of Zambia was rising by 3.7% per annum and the rural urban movement of people recorded 6.7% record increase. So while schools and social services were in great demand, the country's economy needed mending. This was the time when shanty towns increased in size and in population. By the end of the 1980s, Zambia was on the verge of bankruptcy. A return to democracy was manifested and with it the International Monetary Fund, the

World Bank and other monetary institutions launched the structural adjustment programme to retrieve Zambia from a state of total collapse.

During this time life had become very difficult for the ordinary man in Zambia. If he was in employment his income had shrunk due to several calls on it such as school fees, hospital fees, economic rents, increased bus fares, and high cost of foodstuffs. Many workers were declared redundant due to the process of structural adjustment.

The World Bank study of 29 sub-Saharan countries dated 1992 listed Zambia as being in the group of countries whose economic performance had considerably stalled. The study says those countries which embraced the bank's macro-economic policy reforms enjoyed a good pay-off through increased gross domestic product (GDP). Reforms recommended by the bank included trimming of budget deficits, reducing exchange rate policies. According to the Study Zambia recorded -3.2 percent of average annual growth rate between 1981 and 1986 and slightly improved to -2.3 percent by the end of 1991 when government changed hands. Countries which suffered similar stagnation were Benin, Mozambique, Congo, Cameroun, Ivory Coast, Gabon, Togo, Sierra Leone, Rwanda and Central African Republic. Zimbabwe is reported to have enjoyed a significant growth. Her GDP grew from 0.3 to 1.0 per cent by the close of 1991. Other nations which enjoyed good performances were Ghana, Tanzania, Gambia, Burkina Faso and Nigeria. The Bank

says the following countries also showed a slight improvement, Malawi, Burundi, Kenya, Mali, Senegal, Mauritania, Niger, Madagascar and Uganda. Other indicators in the report show that GDP per capita (constant 1985 international dollars) of Sub-Saharan Africa stood at \$1,030. Agriculture share was 32 percent. Manufacturing share was 11 percent. Savings as a percentage of GDP stood at 16 percent together with that of investment.

The Bank says that countries which adopted its recommended macro-economic trade and agricultural reform, saw a higher economic growth. those which resisted them suffered considerably.

Since 1992, the new Zambian Government has adhered to the discipline imposed by the Structural adjustment programme, and there is a light at the end of the tunnel, but belt tightening must continue.

KINSHIP

In Africa there are many examples of child labour due to kinship. Under this heading children are supposed to observe the authority of adults. They perform errands for adults as well as work for them particularly so if they are relations. At domestic level children draw water from rivers for elders to wash. They cook food for elders to eat first and themselves last. All domestic work is done by children under supervision of elders. Adults are in command. Rodgers and

Standing (1981 p.86) speak of this adult authority over children in Kano, Nigeria:

Children and women are expected to defer without question to the orders of men. These ritual expressions of respect can also be seen as demonstrations of adult dependence on children, as well as being expressions of children's obvious subordination to adults.....

Despite overt obedience, Hansa children commonly decline to do errands by claiming, for example, that another adult with greater authority has requested an errand at the same time.

The adult-child relationship differs little from employer-employee relationships except that the relative physical powerlessness of the child can increase the child's vulnerability. Cases of "fake apprenticeship" are similar abuses in that, although kinship may be used as the justification of the relationship, the norms of kinship are ignored (Rodgers and Standing 1981 p.87).

In Zambia chiefs use their subjects and subject's children to plough their fields free and to perform many domestic and agricultural functions without pay. In areas of matrilineal practice, nephews "belong" to maternal uncles. These uncles will at will engage the children on any type of work without pay. Uncles gave their nieces to people to marry if they saw

a way of benefitting financially or materially. Charles Nightingale (1975 p.18) and Victor Turner, (1967) have written of the cruel manner in which the Lunda people of Mwinilunga gave their children into marriage at puberty. Very often uncles reserved their sisters' daughters for their sons to marry. A young woman going to stay at her husband's home was often accompanied by a younger sister to work for her and to spy on her husband. If she reported back home that the sister was being mistreated by her husband, this was enough to cause a dialogue between the two families.

RELIGION

Religion can be a very powerful origin of child labour. The best example I can give is that of the Purdah women in Nigeria and Ghana. According to Schildkrout (1973) and Rodgers and Standing (1981) patterns of child fostering were related to women's need for child helpers in their market trade. The most frequently cited cause of women changing occupations, for example from selling cooked food to embroidering caps and shirts is changes in the supply of child help. In addition to this the religious practice of purdah where women keep away from the public calls for all women's errands and other types of work to be performed by children. Purdah is maintained by the use of children in the domestic economy. This has been the case over several decades. Government's efforts to enrol all the children in schools is resisted as it tampers with the

practice of purdah.

TIED OR BONDED LABOUR

This "feudal" mode of exploitation imposes labour services of various kinds on peasants and other low class groups. The practice is often more vulnerable to children. India is a typical example of a country that used bonded labour. The poor peasants owe land lords money or property in return they offer their own labour and that of their offspring in perpetuity. When a peasant dies still owing a lot his children assume the responsibility of working for the loan.

This can go on from generation to generation, Barnegee (1979). Some writers refer to "tied and Bonded labour" not as a source of child labour, but as a type of child labour. My own feeling is different. Since this kind of abuse of the child has been going on for many generations in India, it has now become a source of child labour. In the same way as I view "Broken Homes" as a source of child labour. Divorce and or the death of one of the parents often cause instability and prompt children to seek employment prematurely.

TYPES OF CHILD LABOUR

Writers on the subject have tabulated types of child labour. I have examined the types given by Rodgers and Standing (1981) under the title "Towards a Typology of Child Activity Patterns." The writers state that to analyse the determinants

of children's activity patterns and to explore their implications it is necessary to devise an appropriate typology of child activities. Indeed a range and nature of child activities is necessary to help us establish areas of abuse and areas of normal socialisation. Later on in Chapter VI I shall depend on this classification of range and nature of activities in my methodology.

Fyfe (1988) states that child work not only responds to economic forces; it reflects social and cultural patterns, including power relationships between adults and children. Accordingly, he tabulates types of child work from the domestic level at home to wage earning efforts away from home. In Table 1.1 (1988 p.22) Fyfe tabulates all possible tasks that the child is involved in from the family base right through to self-employed status in both rural and urban settings. This arrangement agrees with that of Rodgers and Standing referred to above. UNICEF's ratings of child labour follow the same pattern as those cited above. One comes to the conclusion that sociologists are agreed on a common typology of child work. Even Silva (1981) cited in Chapter I who tries to adopt a style of his own ends up by agreeing with the rest.

Briefly, what is the common typology and what does it represent?

Types of Child Worka) Within the family (unpaid)i) Domestic/household tasks

This type of child labour takes place in the family. The child may be a poor relative or a member of the ethnic group who according to kinship tradition or poverty has been obliged to move in for his own survival. He or she is required to assist in the domestic work of the household. The child's contribution may be specific to its gender. A boy may be expected to help with cleaning the house, washing clothes and running a poultry unit. A female child on the other hand will be expected to assist with cooking, child care, fetching water, cleaning utensils and poultry work. Under this category, the situation could be in a rural environment or an urban environment.

ii) Agricultural/Pastoral tasks

Again this category of child work falls under the family. A child of either sex could be expected to work on ploughing in the field, weeding, harvesting and herding livestock. In Africa, all these jobs in the family are undertaken by both male and female members of

the family. The length of daily contribution depends entirely on the head of the household. Herding livestock may involve distances and staying out the whole day from dawn till sunset. The child's meals may be on a self-help basis - namely sucking milk from the cows he or she is herding. This can be hazardous if the cows are not controllable. This type of work by its very nature is rural, rather than urban.

iii. Handcrafts/Cottage Industries

This class involves say weaving, basketry, leatherwork, woodwork, household, industries in the urban 'informal sector'. The child may be brought up in a family that has a small business run by the family itself. The child will be expected to assist in the duties mentioned above. There may be a weaving plant to operate or basketry work. The child's age and extensity will determine what responsibility is given to it. Leatherwork is more of a man's job in Africa and so is woodwork. So a male child would be brought up doing this type of work. Some household industries like pottery are favoured by girls. These jobs could either be in a rural or urban setting. No wages are expected.

b) With the family but outside the home (paid)

i) Agricultural/pastoral work

In this group, children as members of the family are required to work for a living but outside the family authority.

i(a) Migration labour

By arrangement the parents may arrange to send them (the children) to work on a farm away from their place of residence for a period to work as labourers for a commercial farmer or for an ordinary farmer. They will stay there until the agreed term of duty is over. They could be away for the whole harvesting season or longer. It is possible that this migrant labour contract could also affect the family as a whole in negotiations. Payment could be made to parents.

i(b) Local agricultural labour

Under this category, children stay with the family. They are also locally engaged in agricultural labour for a seasonal or permanent basis. The employer, could have negotiated for their employment with the family head and perhaps even pay wages to him. It is also possible to engage children directly and pay them directly.

Agricultural work is quite demanding. In its modern form, use of chemicals is expected from time to time. The danger to children is the use of these chemicals which may be highly poisonous if applied without gloves or without using the instructions that go with it. It is advisable that children receive proper instructions before applying chemicals. It is advisable also that they work under trained and experienced field workers. Their age makes them very vulnerable to infection from chemicals and from weather conditions. Both parents and employers must be on good terms so as to monitor the work of the children. In this way the children will earn money as well as learn the trade to prepare them for a better adulthood.

b.2 Domestic Service

Under this sub-heading - with the family but outside the home we have domestic service. From the description of this domestic work, we are dealing with those children who commute from home as domestic servants of other families. These are known in many Zambian homes as helpers or house-boys and house-girls. They normally take the place of

working wives with children who have to be cared for. The child servants have also to do the cooking and washing of the house including cleaning up. Their work period may be from morning to evening with a lunch break. Usually some light lunch is provided. At sunset or earlier they go back to their own homes for the night stop. When they return home they may find more domestic work awaiting them. So unless there is co-operation from home the children can be very much overworked.

b.3 Construction Work

This sub-heading also falls under (b) above namely being with the family but working outside. For construction work child workers must rise fairly early to get to their place of work where they will be supervised by adult builders, carpenters, plumbers and cement mixers. Their role is to be the go-betweens of adult construction workers. It is not expected that children can take part in actual construction, but to assist in passing tools and such materials as is required by the adults working on the job.

It is a very trying kind of work for children. They must first learn names of tools and

equipment as well as develop enough courage to go up certain heights. It is advisable to offer children protective clothing and helmets for their own security.

Children employed in construction work must develop enough stamina to stand the pressure, and only in the informal sector can they be expected to work without being removed by inspectors.

b.4 Informal economy

This sub-heading deals with such jobs as are available to children who commute from their homes. There are two categories:-

b) Employed by others

Like child work under sub-headings we have just discussed above, we are considering children who work say, in laundries, recycling rubbish and in places where they are offered something to do for wages. These opportunities occur in bars, in restaurants, in shops and in garages. Children assist adults in cleaning up or in maintaining these premises. They could be front men for businessmen by helping to sell their goods in streets or in verandahs of shops on commission basis. They could be used for lifting things or they could be used for toutting. They are essential

links in business contacts. In Zambia they sell papers, polish shoes, clean-cars, run errands; off-loading luggage from buses.

c) Employed by themselves

Self-employed children who commute to their places of work are normally in small groups of four or five sharing the responsibility of looking after their assets. I have in mind a few such teams in Zambia. Some children mend tyres, others sell coat hangers which they make.

Self-employed children are usually those who have worked for adults before to acquire skills and capital. They are sharp and very active.

d) Outside the family

In this class the children would work outside their family and without the assistance of the family.

1) Employed by others

- a) Tied/bonded/slave job - where children are negotiated between parents and prospective employers for service in return for debts or any other favours rendered to the family. They become the property of the employers for a long fixed period or for an indefinite period. This type of child work is obtainable in India despite an Act of Parliament

prohibiting it.

- b) Apprentices - This type of child labour is the result of parents and employers being in league to provide fake training but working for debts or favours rendered to parents. Otherwise, proper apprenticeship is a noble idea of training children for adulthood trades.
- c) Skilled trades - these trades could be in carpentry, embroidery and copper fabrication. On the other hand they could be fake institutions to attract cheap or free labour.
- d) Industries/unskilled occupations children may be employed in unregistered and fake industries where owners make furniture or crafts for sale using cheap labour provided by children in their employment.
- e) Domestics - 'maids of all work' - children could be employed in restaurants, tea-rooms, eating homes, hostels, rest houses for services like food preparation, sex and cleaning up.
- f) Commercial - children employed in shops, workshops, assembly corners for repair of bicycles, mending tyres. Hairdressing

shops, bars and public kitchens at markets for cheap wages.

- g) Begging - children making an income by depriving owners permanently thereof of their property such as watches, handbags, groceries from parked cars.
- h) Prostitution - teenage girls making an income by selling their bodies to tourists, hotel patrons and interested men at bars, hotels, hostels, rest houses, or on the streets.

2. Self-employment

Children may elect to run their own businesses by coming into league with other children. They may run shoe-cleaning, sell of embroidered table clothes and chairbacks. They could run errands or repair bicycles not as employees of adults but as their own masters.

e. Comments on types above

I have difficulties in accepting idleness, recreation and leisure categories as types of child labour. There is no labour element in any of them. On the contrary, idleness, recreation and leisure appear to me to be breaks, indeed necessary interludes from labour which are welcome breaks. In the context of African understanding,

it appears contradictory to say a child is busy with idleness.

I also believe that types 1 to 3 above can be practised concurrently. It is possible for a child to provide free service in the home while he is employed elsewhere as a wage earner. In fact that is what happens in the majority of cases. Except that as the child grows he is less and less tied to domestic chores in favour of commitments outside the family on behalf of the family or on his own behalf.

There also may be a legitimate case for voluntary work when at school or even at work, when the teacher or employer invites the children to perform a voluntary act like cleaning up.

Silva (1981) appears to have summed up types of child labour as presented by Rodgers and Standing on the one hand and Fyfe (1988) on the other. There is not much difference in the analysis, except that Silva could be confusing, because of the use or over use of the terms "conventional" and "unconventional" explanations and illustrations. It is perhaps for this very reason that Rodgers and Standing (1981) insist on the presence of a parent or parents in class "C" of Silva's "Conventional Unpaid". Further, according to Silva himself, the fourth class "Unconventional Unpaid" is the same as "C". Both "C" and "D" are of no commercial value.

Silva's classification of types of child labour goes as follows:

1. Conventionally paid work - like farm labour
2. Unconventionally paid work - like prostitution
3. Conventionally unpaid work - like house cleaning
4. Unconventionally unpaid work - like shoe cleaning.

There is a possibility of all the four categories being 'paid work'. There is also the possibility of all of them being of no commercial value, depending on the circumstances and on the relationships. The hard and fast divisions can be interchangeable.

It is possible that with the growth of the informal sector more types may emerge. The breaking of stones for building purposes by women and children is a new commercial undertaking in Zambia, prior to its advent, the process was only a reminder of the hard work performed by hard-labour prisoners on say Robben Island off the Cape Town mainland. Prostitution for instance, though known as the oldest trade, used to be confined to women of fashion in renowned areas. Today, children hardly beyond ten years old are already known to be veterans in the trade. In Philippines cases of teenage prostitutes are cited by UNICEF to be on the rise. According to Fyfe (1989), Thailand's tourist industry is said to survive on this trade and prostitution is publicly encouraged.

"Indeed parents may encourage their own children to work as prostitutes. This process may start with as the children being taken along to their income earning activities, such as vending or begging. In the process, the children are introduced by the mother to pimps. Both the mother and the pimp will thereafter receive shares from the child's earnings." (Fyfe 1989 p. 119).

Indeed, one can cite another example of the Deputy Prime Minister of Thailand in November 1980 advertising for tourism:

"I ask all Governors to consider the natural scenery in your provinces, together with some forms of entertainment that some of you might consider disgusting and shameful because they are forms of sexual, entertainment that attract tourists..... we must do this because we have to consider the jobs that will be created for the people." (Ennew 1986 p.99).

Under Tied or Bonded Labour, we have discussed the remnants of the slave trade in Africa. In some parts of the continent the practice of slavery has not quite died a natural death. There are adults and even children being tied or bonded for historical reasons. The culprits could not admit doing so. They would argue that they are still custodians of these "helpless children with no parents who must be taken care of." In India,

the practice is an open secret.

ENVIRONMENT FAVOURING CHILD LABOUR - THE INFORMAL SECTOR

We have discussed origins and types of child labour, we should now discuss the venue of child labour. Is it in the formal or informal sector? The symptoms seem to lead us to the latter.

The 'informal economy', a process of earning a living outside the wage economy has found fertile ground in the developing world. It has become a way of life rather than a casual way of obtaining additional funds over and above what one gets in wages, as originally envisaged.

What Hart (1973 p.22) describes as:

- i) informal income opportunities: legitimate and
- ii) informal income opportunities; illegitimate

are exactly what Fyfe (1989 p.22) and Rodgers and Standing (1981-p.112) have described as types of child labour in existence today. The reader will recall that earlier on we tabulated types of child labour as expanded by these sociologists as well as by Silva and UNICEF. The writer did not dispute the fact that these types existed. On the contrary, the coincidence strengthens his belief that child labour lies in the informal sector as the types in one are identical to those in the other, as we shall see. According to Hart the informal sector types are:-

1. Informal income opportunities: legitimate

- a) Primary and Secondary Activities - farming, marketing, gardening, building contractors and associated activities, self-employed artisans, shoemakers, tailors, manufacturers of beers and spirits.
- b) Tertiary Enterprises with relatively large capital inputs - housing, transport, utilities, commodity speculation, rental activities.
- c) Small-scale Distribution - market operatives, petty traders, street hawkers, caterers in food and drink, bar attendants, carriers, commission agents, and dealers.
- d) Other services - musicians, launderers, shoeshiners, barbers, sight soil removers, photographers, vehicle repair and other maintenance workers, brokerage and middlemanship, ritual services, magic and medicine.
- e) Private Transfer Payments - gifts and similar flows of money and goods between persons; borrowing; begging.

2. Informal income opportunities - illegitimate

- a) Services - hustlers and spivs in general; receivers of stolen goods; usury, and pawnbroking (at illegal interest rates); drug-pushing, prostitution,

poncing, smuggling, bribery, political corruption, Tammany Hall-style, protection rackets.

- b) Transfers - petty theft (e.g. pickpockets) larceny (e.g. burglary and armed robbery), speculation and embezzlement, confidence tricksters, gambling.

Alec Fyfe (1989 p. 22) agreeing with Hart under table 1.1 gives the following types of child work:

- Column A: With the family (unpaid):- Domestic/household tasks; Agricultural/pastoral tasks; Handcrafts/cottage industries.
 Column B: With the family, but outside home:- Agricultural/pastoral work; Domestic service; Construction work; Informal economy.
 Column C: Outside the family:- employed by others; self employed.

Rodgers and Standing (1981 p.112) list types of child labour which are also contained under Hart's informal sector types of obtaining income as listed above.

Hart's comment are reinforced by Ditton (1977) who refers to perks and pilferage in the informal sector in the same way these acts are referred to as types of child labour.

Bromley and Gerry (1979 p.5) refer to casual work as employment in the informal sector in the same way we understand child labour on hired or contracted terms or seasonal basis in, say, harvesting. On the whole, the term 'informal economy' has tended to be used in the developing world to mean small-scale productive or trading enterprises in towns.

According to ILO (1972 p 6) Report, the informal sector has the following characteristics, as compared with the

has the following characteristics, as compared with the formal sector.

- i) Ease of entry
- ii) Reliance on indigenous resources
- iii) Family ownership of enterprises
- iv) Small-intensive and adapted technology
- v) Labour-intensive and adapted technology
- vi) Unregulated and competitive markets

The above are characterised by small scale operations and a large proportion of the workers are self-employed. All the above mentioned characteristics are present in child labour in developing countries in both rural and urban areas. Let us examine these characteristics with regard to child labour. A child's earliest work contribution starts at home with the ease of family habits. Indeed reliance at home is on indigenous resources such as cleaning materials, e.g. a grass broom. As the child grows, he works in family enterprises, initially such as a small scale business, and shop or a restaurant with labour intensive technology - bread is baked manually, plates and knives are washed manually, cooking is done on simple village stoves.

The child's skills are passed on from parents by doing things and not by reading. There are usually other small restaurants dotted around offering competition, otherwise the whole system is simple.

Thus the informal world differs greatly from the formal one, where to enter you may require minimum school qualifications, as one has to compete with expatriate qualified staff. The vacancy may be in a big corporation with computers. Entrants may be highly trained machine operators who will ensure that standards are upheld.

Incomes obtained in the informal sector like those obtained under child labour are not recorded in the national statistics and therefore are income tax free. They are what Weeks (1971) referred to as "the unenumerated sector". Here we are talking of market vendors and shoe shine boys on the streets of Lusaka.

It is also significant that in the informal sector, as in the employment of children their peripheral services are very essential to the community such as trading of agricultural produce, construction work, carpentry, tailoring, shoe making and breaking stones for construction work. Indeed the ILO (Report 1972 p.5) and Hart (1973 p.85) admit that the contribution of the informal sector, which to me is the product of child labour as well is not only relevant but very basic and complementary to the formal wage sector, as it provides the essential services to wage workers and also provides materials used by the wage worker in the formal sector, for example provision of door frames, window frames, crushed stones and welding services.

The informal sector, like the child worker provides, if anything, an addition to a regular income obtained from the formal sector. In the same way a teacher receiving a regular income from the Ministry of Education is boosted by an addition from his children obtained through child labour.

The product of the informal sector that employs the child is held to be of very high quality. In Lusaka many builders of modern buildings are known to buy their door frames and window frames and crushed stones from employers of children in the informal sector, in the townships around Lusaka.

It is important that the informal sector be given every encouragement to exist and grow as it makes a good contribution to the growth of the economy of developing countries as well as to sustain needy children in employment except that as it grows, the sector should ensure that the lot of the child is constantly under review by providing better wages, better conditions of working, better health facilities such as clinics at work and better education for the children by allowing child workers to continue with their schooling. The informal sector should strive to provide welfare centres for the leisure and rest of the working child. It should be a prerogative of the informal sector to abide by the law by employing children who, in Zambia, are above 14 years and

in types of employment acceptable by law. In this way society will be agreeable to child work in the informal sector.

Having said that, from what we have said of the informal sector, who provides these social facilities and who monitors the implementation of these requirements since the sector is inspection free? Public Awareness is the answer. The Government, the NGOs and the public should be alert to the needs of society. Already, the NGO sector is providing schools, clinics, health centres, maternity centres, under-five clinics and welfare centres for the people in crowded townships where Government has not provided these facilities. Only recently, in 1992, in the township of Mtendere in Lusaka, the Irish Community opened a Maternity Clinic which is serving thousands of expectant mothers. The benefactors have declared their intention to open further clinics in other townships of Lusaka. The Zambian public should be made aware of their obligations to such benefactors. The Zambians should show gratitude by keeping these premises clean and intact. Vandalising such premises in any way as has been the case in recent years on school buildings and public buildings cannot attract any sympathy let alone generosity from donor agents. Even in the fight against child labour, Zambians have to set an example in condemning and combating the scourge.

From the above discussion it is clear that the informal sector is the main shelter of child labour. The informal sector is housed in townships; in slums around cities and towns. To eliminate this problem the public must mount a campaign to get rid of slums. In Zambia, the World Bank has already shown its sympathy. In 1975, and subsequent years it has been willing to finance cities to upgrade unauthorised townships to habitable standards by insisting on construction of a basic standard of township with basic needs of clinics, schools, good roads and running water drawn from taps.

V. CONCLUSION

In this Chapter we considered the origins and types of child labour. We summed up the typologies of various writers into one. We saw how child labour expanded in England, a developed country during the Industrial Revolution and how it has been prevalent in developing countries over the last few decades when many countries got independence from their former colonising countries. Problems of, balance of payments and efforts to industrialise provided enough fodder for the problem of child labour.

The notion of child labour is rooted in traditions and attitudes of the regions where it is practised, as a remnant of the past, a form of resistance to change. As an illustration of this we may, mention the belief, very

widely held in developing countries, that the more children there are in a family, the more hands there are to help to increase the family income. Whether this belief be justified or not, it is merely a tradition, handed down from generation to generation. Again, in the developing countries the idea that a child who is no longer a baby should be maintained without working is uncommon. This is the conclusion arrived at by the ILO, UNICEF and many writers on the subject for example Bequele and Boyden (1988), Tripathy (1989) Rodgers and Standing (1981) Blanchard (1983), and Mendelievich (1980). They also conclude that child labour is embedded in poverty.

Whatever the origins or types of child labour let us remember the wise words of Mendelievich (1980 p.56)

The child's body and mind are not sufficiently developed for him to work without their suffering damage.... Work is often harmful for a child; healthy recreation is of benefit to him and enriches his life.

Study and learning which broaden his horizons and other beneficial elements in a child's life. Those parents who force their children to work - especially those who do not bother to send them to

school - must be made aware of the fact that they are ruining the life of their offspring for the sake of a few coppers. The child is not a "small adult," nor a machine, nor a beast of burden; he is a new shoot on the family tree, a shoot that needs to grow firm and strong, and it is unthinkable that society, and above all his own parents, should not even know what the right conditions are for this shoot to develop. Today's child is in fact the future of the world.

On types of child labour, I must emphasize basically writers come up with similar categories, except perhaps in a few details as we have seen in this chapter. In a later chapter, Chapter V, I shall try to apply these types to the Zambian situation to see whether they all exist in that country or only some of them. If so, which ones and why.

It has become very obvious from the nature of the types that these conditions do richly apply in the informal sector. This leads me to assume that child labour is prevalent in the informal sector, so far.

In the next chapter, we shall discuss in brief the problem of child labour in six countries, two in Asia; two in Africa and two in Latin America to have a comparative basis for dealing with Zambia.

CHAPTER III

DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

INTRODUCTION

INDIA

PHILIPPINES

BRAZIL

MEXICO

KENYA

NIGERIA

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER III

CHILD LABOUR IN SOME DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

INTRODUCTION

In earlier chapters we established the meaning of such terms as Child Labour and Child Work. Fyfe (1986 p.25) points out that child work becomes child labour when it is exploitative and threatens the health, progress and education of the child. He emphasises the importance of child work for the development and normal up-bringing of the child in society. Where children work under hazardous conditions for long hours with little or no pay but merely for their survival, child labour replaces normal child work. Poverty is at the root of child labour. It is one of the underlying causes of the prevalence of child labour, particularly in developing countries.

This study examines child labour in Zambia, one of the developing countries, but before going to Zambia, it is necessary to look at other developing countries in brief to see whether child labour is a problem in those countries and to pick up similarities and differences in the prevalence of the problem in these countries and in Zambia.

I have chosen two countries from each of the continents of Asia, Africa and America. These countries are India, Philippines, Brazil, Mexico, Kenya and Nigeria. As will be seen all these countries have a history of colonization. They are all developing countries. They all have a rural and urban aspect, components which are familiar in child labour studies. In fact, as will be seen in this chapter, the tendency in the developing world is that of population movements from rural to urban areas.

Child labour exists in both rural and urban areas of the countries under our scrutiny. In rural areas exist agro-industries, plantations, small mines, quarries, honey factories and primary industries. In all these endeavours child workers are recruited. Those who migrate to urban areas join town dwellers in urban industries such as carpet factories, motor assemblies, machine tool factories, grocery shops, construction work and other formal as well as informal sectors. According to Fyfe (1986 p.91) the world's population is swiftly shifting from rural to urban areas and he estimates that by the year 2000 the world's urban population will have increased by half, thus exceeding the rural population by a considerable margin. Four fifths of the population growth in developing countries will be found in urban areas. In most African countries, 70 per cent of the urban population growth

is associated with migration from rural areas. This explains why since independence most developing countries have neglected agriculture in rural areas in favour of urban settlements, where life in "shanty" towns is relatively easier than in rural areas.

Generally speaking, in both rural and urban areas children are exploited. The occupations may differ from country to country and from rural to urban but children play an important role in production as we shall see. Examples are these; rural children assist their parents on family plots, in family shops, in baby tendering, cooking, field-work, and other domestic jobs. They work on plantations of tea and coffee. they help with fishing, brickmaking, cattle herding and ploughing. Urban children are involved in the formal and the informal sectors. They mind cars, sell cigarettes, lift heavy commercial loads and sell in small family shops. In some countries, they may be bonded and serve apprenticeship periods to learn trades.

In Africa most child workers live with their parents or guardians. They rise early for their work places but return home in the evening. In Latin America most child workers, known as street children, have broken away from their families to live in streets or other hideouts. Some live individually,

others live in groups of the same trade.

Some children combine school with work. They work to survive and to raise their fees and family budgets. Others are full-time workers who have left school because of lack of places at school or because they are not interested.

In this chapter we shall try to examine the activities of these children in the above-mentioned six developing countries. In examining the nature of child labour in the rural and urban sectors of these countries, it will be necessary to look at the historical background, analyze the causes of child labour and study the informal and formal sectors. We shall observe the sexual division of labour and draw comparisons in these countries.

DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

1) INDIA

India, the land of contrast and of the rich and poor, has the highest child labour and abuse record. Ennew and Milne (1989 p.5) put the child labour population of India at 16.5 million. Tripathy (1989 p.5) puts it at 23 million, thus:-

"India tops the world in child labour having 23 million children working in different activities.

...An all India Survey in 1985 sponsored by the Ministry

of Labour revealed that.... every household has a working child and every fourth child, in the age group of 5 to 15 is employed"

This is so in spite of Article 24 of the Constitution of India which states that "no child below the age of 14 years shall be employed to work in any factory, or mine or engaged in any other hazardous employment", Tripathy (1989 p.4).

a) The Rural Sector

India's child labour according to Banergee (1979 p.20) is mainly caused by poverty, caste system, unemployment and the bondage system. The problem is more acute in rural India where the population is more involved in agricultural and associated rural occupations. Many children are employed in the carpet industry, lock making industry and agriculture. The major weaving centres are the Merzapur, - Bhadohi areas, Jaipur, Srinagar and Amristar. The worst cases of child labour are those found in the marginal sectors of poor economics. The situation in Bhadohi region in Uttar Pradesh in Northern India with child weavers of knotted carpets confirms this. This State is one of the most populous and least developed with the eastern part even much poorer (Bequele

and Boyden 1988). According to Ennew and Young (1979 p. 202), poverty and lack of support services force families to use child labour in order to survive. Further, the socialisation of the child in preparation for adult roles also encourages child labour. In India, these aspects are re-enforced by the cultural and social restrictions of seniority and caste. It is also a well known factor that in the carpet weaving industries children are preferred because they are said to have nimble fingers, a keen eye and will sit in the same posture for hours (Bequele and Boyden 1988 p.97).

Although India ratified the United Nations Charter of the Rights of the Child (1959), the International Year of the Child (1979) and the ILO Minimum Age Convention No. 138 of 1973, the country is still a long way from controlling the growth of child labour. Most of the children in carpet weaving come from scheduled castes and the Muslim and tribal communities. It is said that parents solicit for their children's employment and employers are apparently happy that they are assisting the poor by employing their children. This attitude of mind on the part of parents and employers is common in all developing countries, as will be shown when we come to examine the

Zambian community on child labour. It is this state of affairs which exposes the child to exploitation and lack of protection from the law agents. Both parents and employers try to avoid trade unionists and inspectors from the Labour Department.

In India, children's work in rural areas, is part of the household production. Even where parents may be in wage employment, children are called upon to assist with no concern for their schooling and leisure. There are therefore many cottage and other industries which depend very largely on child labour. Such industries include tea and coffee plantations of Assam, food factories, mineral products processing, leather tanning, mica splitting and cutting, match manufacturing, merchant shipping, carpet weaving, explosive and fireworks manufacturing. In these labour intensive factories requiring unskilled labour, a substantial quarter is filled by children.

b) The Urban Sector

Child labour in industries in urban areas derives from the same factors as given to child labour in the rural areas. Here, however, the setting and the environment are different. The areas where child labour is prevalent

include diamond polishing, precious stones, glassware, lockmaking, brassware, carpet weaving and clothing industries.

In Sivakasi, the centre of the match industry is South India, children constitute 40-45 per cent of the labour force, doing simple and unskilled jobs to supplement their families income. There are also specified hazardous occupations in which employers should insist on minimum age of 14 years for employment, such as cigarette manufacture, cloth printing, weaving, rail and road transport, but where younger children are employed. Child labour in urban India is commonly prevalent in both the formal and informal sectors. The formal sector is associated with wage labour and rapid urbanisation. Child labour in the informal sector may be part of domestic production in the rural areas whereas in the urban areas it is part of such activities as car washing, newspaper selling, shoe shining and sale of various other merchandise, commonly seen in towns and cities.

The sexual division of labour is reflected in the occupational division and begins during the process of socialisation as children grow. Fyfe (1986 p.15) has observed that child work can be a mechanism by which sex

roles are learned and perpetuated. India is a predominantly agricultural country which is fast industrialising. The sexual division of labour, therefore, is inherent in the learning of these occupational rules in both rural and urban sectors. Girls normally take on the roles performed by their mothers.

The nature of child labour in India takes different forms depending on whether it is the urban or rural area, the type of occupation and on whether or not the occupation is in the informal or formal sector. In the Uttar Pradesh carpet weaving industry, for example, a child may work at home or in a factory on a sub-contracting form of arrangement (Bequele and Boyden 1988). Here, raw materials and capital are provided by the manufacturer or exporter. The master weaver, who may also own the loom, acts as an intermediary between the manufacturer and the weavers. The master weaver distributes the raw material, pays advances to weavers and delivers the finished product to the manufacturer (Bequele and Boyden 1988 p.23). Thus the labourer, including child labourer, is employed by loom owners and not by the manufacturer. Since weaving may also be done at home, it is difficult

to pin down the master weaver and the manufacturer for any contravention of child labour regulations as these do not extend to domestic situations. As we shall see later, this subcontracting system involving child labour, is also found in the Philippines.

Further, in India money lenders and exploitative landowners practice bonded labour where adults and children pledge their labour to repay debts and loans incurred by their parents. Children are sometimes used to replace their parents who were bonded many years earlier. Bonding is now illegal, but the power relationships within families has kept the practice going. Fyfe (1989 p.75) confirms that in India, child workers who are caught up in this slave like system of bonded labour are seen as a priority concern in the child labour field. Debt bondage continues, Fyfe (1989 p.75), as a form of modern slavery and this ugly practice is known in many circles, including the United Nations. India is generally acknowledged to represent the worst case of this practice despite successive legislative attempts to abolish it.

In India conservative estimates of bonded labourers start at 3 million. Debt bonding is the act of a person who

needing to raise a loan and having no security to offer, pledges his labour or that of someone under his control as a security for the loan. Indian children find themselves placed in the position of offering their labour. In some cases the interest on the loan is so high that it cannot be paid, so the labour is deemed to repay the interest on the loan but not the capital. The loan remains inherited by posterity, in perpetuity. The caste system reinforces the bonding system. The money lenders are of necessity of higher caste. So, in India this form of child labour is re-enforced under the caste system.

Bonded labour serves to take care of Government loans, wedding celebrations, and other forms of festivities. In all these instances the labour of the child is the price. In India, attempts to abolish bonding date as back as 1915 (The Abolition of Jeeta^k Services). In 1933, the Children Pledging Labour Act was passed with subsequent amendments in 1950 and 1951. In 1976 all forms of bonded labour were abolished by the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act.

The Chairman of the Bonded Liberation Front (BLF) which is based in Delhi testified that there are still 80 to

100 million bonded labourers in India, many of them children. Justice Bhagwati of the Supreme Court in India ruled that all people working for less than the legal minimum wage must be considered bonded labourers (Whittaker, 1985 p.72) and Fyfe (1989 p.77) concludes that in common with other children labouring in bondage, some have been kidnapped and virtually sold as slaves, while others have taken the place of relatives. Whittaker (1985 p.73) and Standing (1982 p.615) are convinced that bonded labour ought to be singled out as an extreme form of exploitation which should be stamped out.

On the question of child labour generally, the Government of India passed the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act on 23 December 1986 to prohibit employment of children below 14 years in carpet weaving, cigarette making, cement manufacturing, cloth printing, dyeing and matches manufacturing. However, despite its scope and potential, the Act was soon found to be inadequate in stamping out child labour of 14 year olds. However, the Act provided for the establishment of a Child Labour Technical Advisory Committee to review and advise on hazardous occupations and processes. A

National Policy on Child Labour was formed to deal with socio-economic factors bearing on child labour. The policy involved an extensive system of non-formal education, targeted at children up to the age of 11 years by the year 1990. By the year 1995, there would be free and compulsory education up to the age of 14 years (Bequele and Boyden 1988 p.17).

To sum up, in India, we have noticed that children are employed on a variety of work situations both in rural and urban areas. They are employed from a very early age. They are employed over long hours in hazardous situations. Because of poverty and non-availability of schools and school places, they have to work. Children work in both rural and urban India. There is also a rural to urban trend in search of work and better living standards. We have also seen that children are preferred to adults in many industries on account of their innate or perceived characteristics such as docility, speed and visual activity. They are paid low wages. Employers are not harassed by inspectors or trade unionists. Given these circumstances, prohibition of child labour can be tackled from two angles:-

- i) short-term basis is the strict prohibition of child

labour in socially and economically exploitative employment situations.

- ii) complying with the Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138) of ILO. In this regard, a programme of expanding schools is recommended, with this must go the effort of increased enrolment in schools even if this is on shift basis.

2) The Philippines

In the Philippines, as in India, the existence of child labour on a substantial scale does not imply lack of awareness and effort to eradicate it. In fact the authorities in the Philippines have taken a number of positive measures over the years some of which are contained in the "Labour Code". The Year of the Child Protection of Filipino Exploited Children was declared from June 1986 to May 1987 by Presidential Edict. Further, Philippines is a signatory to the Internal Labour Convention which requires the establishment of and appliance with standards, governing the employment of children and the Labour Code which constitutes National Policy among other things, prohibits the employment of children under 15 years unless under direct supervision of parents or guardians. Children between 15 and 18 should be employed only if work does not interfere with school. No apprentices below the age of 14 even in the permitted industries are allowed. While bonding and caste system characterise child labour in India, Costerhout observes that in Philippines poverty and patronage - a social, political and cultural aspect dominate child labour (Bequele and Boyden 1988 p.118).

Studies carried out for the fishing industry in the rural area and for wood and clothing industries in urban areas,

indicate that child labour costs, as in India, are less than those for adults. Bequele and Boyden have summarised such studies by the University of the Philippines and by Costerhout (Bequele and Boyden, 1988). With no tenure of employment, child labour is more flexible and easier to lay off. The unregistered status of many small firms that employ children enable the owners and their subcontractors to circumvent legal requirements much in the same way as those weaving industries in India and the many small firms where child labour is concentrated are integrated into the international market through a system of subcontracting.

Use of child labour in rural based industries can be exemplified by the activities of the Muro-Ami Deep Sea Fishing Operations described by Costerhout (Bequele and Boyden, 1988 p.109-118). Here, fifteen per cent are between 15 and 18 years and fifty per cent of the children in Oslo join the Muro-AMI Corporation only after grade 4. The subcontracting is via the master fisherman, down to the fisherman and child recruits themselves who do anything from sewing and hauling nets to diving. Working hours are long, even longer than 12 per day when the weather is favourable. Common diseases include typhoid, gastro-enteritis, vitamin B deficiency, tuberculosis, bronchitis, pneumonia and dysentery, to

name but a few. These are caused by congested and unsanitary living conditions.

Socialisation within the family plays an important role in developing an interest among children in fishing, as well as helping them acquire the necessary skills. Popular belief holds that children should not be a financial burden to the family, but on the contrary, they should contribute to household incomes. So children offer themselves willingly to help raise family incomes in spite of all the hazards in their way. Sometimes children as young as 7 to 9 years learn to swim and dive in order to participate directly. Others are forced to leave school and engage in fishing because of financial problems. Some employers and recruits live in the same communities. Generally these communities have kinship or social ties making it difficult to identify child labour.

Child labour in urban areas is reported to be also intensely practiced in the wood processing and clothing industries. In wood processing, child labour constitutes seventy-two per cent of the labour force while in the clothing industry, eighty-two per cent of child labour is employed by firms with less than twenty-nine workers. Entry into the labour market is by direct employment through a sub-contractor. As Bequele and Boyden (1988) explain, the sub-contracting system involves two traders

one of whom is a foreign distributor or exporter of the product on the international market while the local trader supplies the raw material and the finished product. The local contractor provides machinery and labour while the sub-contractor provides a working area and lets out work or alternatively supplies the materials to individual households. In this system the final product is distributed by the foreign company. The production is home-based but integrated into the import market. Thus the sub-contracting, involves, by and large, patronage.

There are no binding agreements as the children are casual workers in both wood and clothing industries. The sub-contracting system, patronage and the seasonality of production encourage and confirm the preference for child labour, a practice reminiscent of a similar situation in tea plantation and other industries in India.

The two case studies cited for the Philippines demonstrate opportunities for the formal sector. Sub-contracting arrangements that are in place, as well as the patronage system are also prevalent in the urban sector where clothing and wood based industries such as furniture making, varnishing, wood carving of items such as figures and pen holders, thrive. Most skills training, for the clothing and other industries, takes place in the home. Therefore, the sexual division of

child labour in the Philippines is assured as occupational choice is traditionally based on sex. As summarised by Bequele and Boyden (op. cit) boys take up such jobs as newspaper selling and jobs in wood based industries while girls are associated with such jobs as seamstresses, food selling, and housework.

According to studies undertaken by the Institute of Industrial Relations of the University of Philippines, again as summarised by Bequele and Boyden (op. cit. pp 84-88) it is established that in that country, like in others, child labour is rooted in poverty. As stated above, it is often a response by the household to the need to satisfy basic requirements. It is expected of children whose parents are unemployed or do not earn enough to live on to work in order to help in their families' struggle for survival. Each family has to decide how much contribution to work must come from the children. In doing so schooling considerations must take priority. As in India, in some families even schooling must give way to survival needs. The state, however insists on families giving due respect to schooling needs.

In the Philippines, children often work close to their parents, very often with their parents in the same industry. In the study under review, eighty-eight per cent of the children were found to be working in

industrial establishments which the remaining twelve per cent worked for subcontractors as home-based workers.

As in India, in the Philippines children are free to leave work but once they did so, there was no guarantee that they would be taken on again as no binding agreements exist for child workers in these countries.

The study by the Institute referred to above also indicates that of those children who worked on clothing in industries, 84 per cent of them were paid on piece rate basis where parents owned industries, and worked from their residences. Most such industries were situated in the children's residential vicinity. Alternative work could only be found in farming where again children worked with or for their parents and neighbours.

Today, in Philippines the general trend remains that children work in small scale, unregistered establishments which, as already alluded to, are not subject to health and safety inspections. The Labour Code specifies tasks which children are allowed to undertake as well as the occupations that are considered hazardous and are therefore prohibited to them.

By and large, child labour policy in the Philippines has adhered very closely to the standard laid down by the ILO. This is a positive step, very much better than the conditions obtaining in India. The following conditions

are insisted upon by the government of Philippines and employing agents (Bequele and Boyden 1988):-

- a) Before children are taken on they must undergo a pre-employment medical examination;
- b) Thereafter, the child must be subjected to periodic health checks;
- c) Clean drinking water must be available on the premises for children and other workers to take;
- d) The inspectors must satisfy themselves that adequate protection from machines and other hazards exist at the premises;
- e) All parents of working children should undergo a series of lessons on health measures;
- f) Industries concerned must have provision for vocational courses for children.

In the Philippines children work under conditions which are in line with ILO requirements of Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138) which requires all countries that have ratified it to specify a minimum age for admission to employment and to raise the minimum age to a level consistent with the fullest physical and mental development of young persons. The minimum age for admission to employment or work shall not be less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling and, in any case, shall not be less than 15 years. As already indicated, the ILO also provides different age thresholds

for different types of work. Thus, the minimum age for admission to employment or work which jeopardise the health, safety and morals of young persons shall not be less than 18 years.

A number of conclusions arise from these two case studies on child labour in India and the Philippines. It can be seen that in both India and the Philippines the incidence of child labour is high despite the existence of positive policy measures, appropriate legislation, the adoption of ILO Convention and UN Declaration of the Rights of the Child all of which are intended to protect the child from exploitation and abuse. In both countries, child labour is rooted in poverty. This applies to both rural and urban areas. In India poverty is reinforced by the caste and bonding systems in their perpetuation of child labour. In the Philippines, while poverty is also the main root cause of child labour, social class and the system of patronage is superimposed on it.

Finally, measures to redress child labour, must include those that provide adequate schooling and training for jobs. These must be taken alongside measures intended to reduce or eliminate the economic gap of households so that the need for children to work in order to supplement household incomes, should not arise. There is evidence that in both countries such initiatives are being taken by Government, NGOs and other organisations. The problem

must be addressed through a two pronged approach, encompassing short and long term measures, as prescribed in summary under India above.

3. Brazil

If poverty is at the root of child labour in India and the Philippines, it is also the main cause of child labour in the Latin American countries of Brazil and Mexico. As in other developing countries, the relationship between poverty and lack of school and other facilities adds an extra dimension to the problem of child labour. Further, there is also the unequal distribution of wealth. Therefore, the question of child labour also involves economic, cultural and power relationships even in these two Latin American countries to which we must now turn.

In Mexico, a Latin American country, child labour takes a slightly different style from that obtaining in India and the Philippines in Asia. The causes of child labour in Mexico are; similar to the causes of child labour in India, the Philippines and, as we shall see later, Brazil. Rural-Urban migration exists and in fact a substantial number of Mexicans cross over the border to work on farms, particularly the vineyards of California. The driving force behind such migrant labour is poverty. As stated above, this involves and includes the same reasons as for other developing countries namely to

assist the parents and supplement the family income and also to train children for adult roles through socialisation. Fyfe (1986 p.5) summarises the position in the following way. "Child work not only responds to economic forces, it reflects social and cultural patterns, including power relations between adults and children." Perhaps nowhere can this assertion be more relevant than in Latin America which is poor, steeped in feudal traditions and capitalist relations of production. In discussing child labour in Latin American countries, we shall concentrate on urban children who live and work in the street as here, there is a high incidence of such child labour. As stated earlier, child labour is associated with great inequality of income and distribution of wealth apart from educational and other opportunities which Fyfe (1986 pp 25-26) interprets as both a symptom and cause of poverty. In fact street child labour abounds not only in Mexico and Brazil in Latin America, but also in Colombia and Peru. According to United Nations Emergency Children's Fund (UNICEF) Ideas Forum, (1982) street children are described as those for whom the street in the widest sense of the word that is unoccupied dwellings, waste land, other than their family has become their real home, a situation in which there is no protection, supervision or direction from responsible adults.

In their small groups headed by senior boys who are often armed, they roam certain streets stealing, snatching ladies handbags, washing cars, selling cigarettes and shining shoes. Many of those children are used to rough life. They share "territories" with their opposite numbers, that is to say the stronger the group the more territory they command by force. Hence the city is divided into territories of gangs of these young tough boys. They are not abandoned children, but extreme poverty has forced them out of their homes to become self-supporting. Some spend nights in the streets and of course all day there. Others go home at night only to join their gangs early the following day. Among them, can still be found those who go to school and even pay their fees from street revenue. Others even contribute to family incomes.

Street children are part of the urban child labour. Fyfe (1986 p.97) has described them as "Street children are, at one and the same time, exotic and potentially poor. Conditions in the Favelle contribute to child labour in the cities and it is for this and other similar reasons that child labour in urban and rural areas is interrelated. By the age of five, children are either cutting sugar cane or they are on the street in towns. Whether in the rural or urban areas, children of the poor need to work to ensure they survive. Work can be in the

formal or informal sectors in both rural or urban areas. In Brazil, elementary education is free and compulsory up to the age of 14. But according to The Guardian of London, dated 28th September 1990, only 75 per cent of children between 7 and 14 years were attending school in 1978. The Guardian also points out that although schools are supposed to be free, parents have to buy books, materials and uniforms. Worse still, three or even four shifts of children use the same school each day, getting only three to four hours of schooling. These observations are not limited to Brazil. They are found in many developing countries. In Zambia, for instance at Primary School level schools are compulsory and free. Children buy their books, materials and uniforms. There are shifts and short periods of learning exactly like in Brazil. The new government in Zambia elected in October 1991, has promised to improve school conditions. This remains to be seen. Buying of books, materials and paying of school fees by students has resulted in many bright children discontinuing with education because they cannot afford to do so. The Guardian, London, 28th September 1990 also states:

A teacher wrote in an end-of-term report that:

"J is a nice quiet humble child, 11 years old. The father has cancer, the mother is pregnant, there are eight year-old twins. The mother worked as a

cleaner to pay the rent of their shack but then she was sacked..... J is sad, he understands what is happening. They have no beds, even the father with terminal cancer has to sleep on the floor."

This kind of poverty is equally obtaining in many developing countries. It is the cause of child labour and misery that is characteristic of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. In Brazil the law makes it illegal for children below 14 years to get fulltime employment. But there is allowance for children between 10 and 14 years to obtain licences to work. However, even where such licences are given, there are no health or age assurances. In short, licences do not confer any protection, benefit or anything positive particularly in the face of the formal sectors clandestine child labour, and that of the formal sector's children of the street. The sexual division of labour is inherent in the cultural norms and values. However, it is determined by both the socialisation process and the economic needs of the household, children who get jobs see work as an obligation to support their parents. Normally, boys get jobs at 13 years while at that age girls look after the young ones of their families or get domestic employment. The Guardian, London 28th September, 1990) reported that:

"For 7 million youngsters who live in the street in Brazil, the chance of a happy ending is remote.

They are seen as rubbish to be cleaned up, rather than children who need homes, schools, and love. Amnesty International has denounced the police-led death squads that kill children. Last year a Rio Research-Institute calculated that 457 children were killed in violent incidents. Yet both street children and death squads are merely the most visible symptoms of social system that encourages inequality unrivalled in most other countries".

In Latin America efforts were made by government to stamp out the pressure of street children and actually clear them from the streets by armed gangs of adults. The government agency Fundacao Nacional do Benesta do Menor (The National Foundation for Child Welfare or FUNABEM according to law number 451, Article 7-VI, mobilises the indispensable participation of entire communities under the guise of getting rid of the problems of street children.

Some methods employed are harsh while others are humane, they involve establishing training facilities for youth in mechanical workshops. On completion, they are assigned to open co-operatives of their own choice for example repair of broken furniture, household stuff and mending clothes and bicycles.

That children working in the streets are widely exploited by adults as well as by their own peers, was also

observed by Myers (Benquele and Boyden, 1988) who states, in the case of Brazil that the children faced constant violence even from the authorities. They earned very little and worked long hours which interfered with their schooling (Bequele and Boyden, 1988 p.128). He further reports that a new focus initiated in 1980 in Brazil was the first to involve Government, religious and non-governmental organisations. The initiative changed the attitude towards street children from one of seeing them as victims needing rescue by outsiders to one of visualising them as agents of their own development and seeking opportunities. While the National Child Welfare Foundation co-ordinated at national level, it also worked through similar agencies which were in touch with their situation on the ground. In this regard, the Catholic Church's Salesian Centre (CESAM) trained and placed the children in employment with over 200 selected companies which paid it for the work that the children performed while the children themselves were paid by CESAM. This eliminated economic exploitation and charity by insisting on definite conditions of work and a minimum wage. The Saleo de Encontro uses a different approach by employing the children directly after training them in various skills to make furniture, drapery, home furnishings and ceramics, depending on demand.

In 1989 the Casa de Passagem (Passage House) was

established for street children between 10 and 18 years to save them from violence on the streets. The experiment proved a success and is still in progress with the help of NGOs. Street girls were housed over a period to appreciate family life. They gave up prostitution. In the end they went to their original homes. (Bequele and Boyden, 1988)

These centres were replicated elsewhere in the country in other towns with the participation and involvement of local communities. The workers were, on completion of their training, assigned to open co-operatives of their own choice such as to repair broken furniture, household items, mending clothes and bicycles.

The Brazilian experience of intensive street child labour is a classical example of how children may be exploited and abused by both the authorities and society. However, the approaches, represent a new awareness of the need to seek better and more humane methods of coping with the problem. The emphasis which is now not only on providing welfare but also on skills training and community participation in various programmes with a new attitude towards street children, provides a more practical way of socialisation and development of the street children to engage in productive and useful lives. The question is whether there can be sufficient human, material and other resources to replicate the effort in various centres

widely enough as to have a lasting impact. However, welfare programmes alone merely scratch the surface of poverty and cannot substantially contribute to the elimination of child labour. In the long term, other measures, including bridging the economic gap and providing more facilities for training, will be necessary.

To wind up, in Brazil, we have seen the establishment of programmes by Catholics and NGOs namely:

- a) Salesian Centre for Minors (CESAM);
- b) Salae de Encontro (Meeting Place);
- c) Republic do Pequeno Vendedor (Republic of Young Peddlers) and others whose purpose was to encourage contact with families by street children and protect them from marginalisation. The result was improvement in physical, emotional and intellectual well-being of children.

We have also noticed the similarity of child labour in Brazil to those in other countries. However, Police brutality in Brazil is very significant. We shall see in subsequent discussion how the World Summit on Children won Brazil's sympathy on children. We shall also see how Brazilian children brought influence to bear on government to improve the lot of the child.

4. Mexico

In Mexico the need to survive creates a broad network of

social relationships (CUATISMO) which serves as a kind of social security system. This class of people reminds one of the dwellers of shanty townships in Zambia. They wear old clothes; they carry water in tin cans; they cover the roofs of their dwellings with left-over building materials and rejects. The children go out to sell chewing gum or beg for food on the streets. Mendelievich (1980 p.102) observes:-

The numbers of city dwellers living precariously in this way are steadily swollen by migrants coming to towns from rural areas. Most of these migrants go to Mexico City, Guaddlajara or Monterrey, seeking a better social and economic life than is available to them at home, where the difficulties of survival, the high rate of population growth and the increase in rural unemployment and underemployment are a permanent burden.

Mexico's rural and urban character is very similar to that of Brazil described above. From early childhood of 6 or 7 years boys and girls learn the trades of their parents by assisting them at home and at work in everything they do. For instance the girls learn to cook, care for babies, look after and clean the house, to wash darn, and iron clothes, to sew and embroider. The boys get up at dawn to work in the fields with their fathers before going to school. they learn how to grow

sugar cane, rice, maize and other crops, how to use and look after tools and how to care for animals.

The growth rate is one of the highest in the world at 3.4 per cent.

The Mexican law forbids children under the age of 14 years to work, but the real situation is different. The conditions of extreme poverty in which many children live compels them to carry out various kinds of jobs from the age of 5 or 6 years in order to survive. Many others up to the age of 14 years roam the streets of Mexico City. The Confederation of Workers of Mexico put the figure of street children at 3.5 million in 1977.

Child workers in Mexico are in all sectors of economic activity, but it is in the agricultural sector that child labour is most widespread. The industrial sector takes second place.

Not the slightest attention is paid to the standards regarding the length of the working day, rest days, holidays, overtime and so on. Both adults and children are in the same situation in this respect. A child normally works 10 to 12 hours without a break on employers estates.

Earnings are determined by the kind of work. In most cases they are supplemented by tips, which are the sole source of income for some children who look after cars parked on roadsides and those who clean windscreens.

Labour inspectors exist but their capacity to keep the situation under control are very limited. This is a common feature in the developing world.

5. Kenya

In a study on child labour in Kenya, Onyango (Bequele and Boyden, 1988 p.161) attributes child labour to underdevelopment and poverty, coupled with financial demands of school and upkeep, employment, large families, irregular income and family instability. Thus in Kenya, as elsewhere in developing countries, children involve themselves in adult work in the hope of earning a living and thereby assisting the family and themselves with some income. This assertion is further supported by the following observation:

Child labour is rooted in poverty. It is always a response by the household to the need to satisfy basic requirements. Children with unemployment or unemployment parents or where children's parents have no social security, must work to help in the family's struggle for survival (op. cit. p.85).

Child labour in Kenya has been known for a long time. Onyango (Bequele and Boyden 1988) observes that in 1946 child labour accounted for 21 per cent of Kenya's total economic activity. This percentage has since decreased with the increase of population and urbanisation. Thus although Kenya is one of those countries that have

satisfied the ILO minimum age convention, of 1973 (No.138) child labour continues to exist, among other things, for reasons stated above. Kenya's legislation on child labour draws on the above mentioned ILO Convention and on the accompanying ILO Recommendation, (No. 146). Since 1974, the Government has insisted on compulsory primary school for Grades 1 to 8. The Employment Act, 1976 and the Employment of (Children) Rules Act of 1977 are in place although the Act does not cover agricultural and domestic workers. Section 25 of the Act, however, prohibits employment of children under 18 years in industrial undertaking without the permission of the Ministry of Labour.

Child labour in Kenya has its rural and urban aspects as in India, the Philippines, Mexico and Brazil. Again, according to Onyango, any Kenyan children between the ages of 6 to 15 years in both rural and urban areas are victims of child labour. Work in the domestic field such activities as cleaning, washing clothes, feeding and milking domestic animals, fetching water and firewood, cultivating, weeding and harvesting is most done by child labour. A distinct occupational and sexual division of labour exists as boys feature more heavily in the field of farm work while girls concentrate on domestic work such as cooking, cleaning, pounding maize, looking after their young brothers and sisters and generally learning

to be useful future mothers. In some homes child work is limited to socialisation while in others, especially where the children work for other people, children work long hours under harsh conditions and strict supervision (Bequele and Boyden, 1988).

Onyango (Bequele and Boyden, 1988 pp.166-67) observes that child domestic labour in Kenya is more prevalent and the children are highly exploited, psychologically assaulted and abused. The degree of abuse is often related to the capacity of the child and most children being not skilled, fail to meet the expectations of their employers.

The majority of child workers in coffee plantations of the rural sector are boys mostly between the ages 12 and 17 years. They work under hard conditions and without protection from the elements of the weather.

Although most of the children who are involved in this type of work are reported to be doing it during the school holidays or after school periods, it cannot be said that their school is not interfered with. In any case, during the harvest season parents are said to withdraw their children from school to participate in harvest work.

In forestry, child labour is engaged mostly on contractual basis. The arrangements being similar to those in sisal plantations. As the wages are

comparatively high, many teenage children are attracted. In rice and sisal cultivation, conditions are equally severe, but children have to do the work. Mirra (a kind of stimulant) plantation, was at one time a prohibited field for child work. In 1982, under Chiefs Act of Kenya, children were prohibited from working in this industry and arrests of culprits were known, periodically. In 1983, children were also banned from felling trees. Under the Chiefs Act of 1982, it was an offence for children to work at night between 6.30 pm to 6.30 am except with permission from the Minister of Labour. The Minister at the same time was empowered to implement this Act very strictly.

It can be seen that the problem of street child labour as in India, Mexico, Brazil and the Philippines also exists in Kenya where children between the ages of 4 and 17 years are involved. Many live and work on the street with no contact with parents and are often subject to police harassment, in an effort to clear them out of the street, as happens to street children in Mexico, Brazil, India and the Philippines. The male children engage in all sorts of activities including begging, drug peddling, scavenging, theft, selling newspapers, cleaning cars and shoe polishing while the girls may sell some items or engage in prostitution. In fact, in Kenya a large proportion of child prostitution involves children who

had worked as domestic servants (Onyango op. cit. p.171). Prostitution, an unfortunate and sad part of the sexual division of labour of street children in Kenya, is practiced from an early age. Hotels are patronised by young girls from Kenya's rural areas who have moved to urban areas to find a living. Efforts by Government to stop this evil have not succeeded. Even under the Chiefs Act of 1982, which banned children from working at night, prostitutes acted as guests of tourists rather than children in search of work. This social evil involving child abuse is not, however, restricted to Kenya alone; it exists in Latin America and Asia as well, for more or less the same reasons. In Thailand, for example, the authorities have found it difficult to promote tourism without at the same time appearing to condone prostitution.

The problem in Kenya is that found in many developing countries, namely, the inability of "social Ministries, such as Education, Labour, Health and Welfare to obtain sufficient budgetary support for their programmes in the face of competing needs and conflicting interests, especially in the light of large budget deficits and huge foreign debts. Unlike the ministries of Agriculture and Commerce, these ministries are considered to be heavy but non-productive charges on the country's budget. The little money available is considered better investment if

spent on projects that will bring income or create wealth.

In Kenya, like many developing countries social work is left to Non Government Organisations (NGO) to handle. These NGOs do not always have enough funds to carry out effective programmes. They are in fact fully committed to other social programmes for which they were originally formed.

It has already been mentioned that in Kenya at harvesting time, schools are the source of recruitment for child labour. It may be that the most effective way of dealing with the problem of child labour during harvest is to rearrange the school calendar so that harvesting time coincides with school holidays. At the moment the school calendar is that left by the former colonial government, which does not suit independent Kenya.

One major problem at harvest time in Kenya is the drift of children from rural to urban areas in reach of street jobs and prostitution. By tradition, after certain traditional ceremonies like circumcision and puberty have taken place, the child becomes an adult. Some children have however, been known to reach puberty at between 12 and 14 years which are still tender ages requiring protection and guidance, but because the child is said to have matured, he or she prefers to go to town for so called "civilised" work leaving behind harvesting work.

Urbanisation has a tendency to remove tribal or traditional protection. The urban child tends to behave in a very detached manner from traditional norms. He or she finds the new won freedom of deserting the rural area after circumcision or puberty a passport to prostitution, pick-pocketing and child labour with no parental or tribal hindrances. In post-independence Kenya, there are regular township inspections to send back to rural areas young people without jobs and such children find refuge under the roofs of their relatives before they end up into streets as workers, beggars or thieves. Today, the city of Nairobi is divided into two main parts. There is the town and there is the outskirts full of shanty buildings harbouring child labourers in the fast developing informal sector.

The ILO forecast is that although agriculture still accounts for most child labour in the world, it is possible that even in the next century, more children may be involved in the urban informal sector. The UNICEF Report on the tenth anniversary of the International Year of the Child refers to the urban informal sector in the following terms:

Almost certain it is the fastest growing area of child labour fed in no small part by rural to urban migration and the breaking down of production into more decentralised units. In most cities it

encompasses the vast majority of children who work outside the home for their upkeep or income.

Of the efforts being made to bring awareness and seek ways and means to eliminate child labour, the work of the Undugu Society of Kenya deserves mention as it offers vocational training while the Katangi Agricultural Programme offers agricultural skills including water storage and house construction. Like similar efforts in Brazil, the Undugu Team of workers contacts the children in the street, given them shelter and food during the day and return to the centre at night. Thus apart from having a roof over their heads at night, they experience social contact and have means of communication for their ideas. (Bequele and Boyden, 1988)

Despite ratifying the ILO's Minimum Age Convention, 1973, or the Government's legislative measures such as forbidding employment of children without the consent of the labour office, or prevention of their employment in places where alcohol is consumed without a medical certificate, and increased involvement in primary education to 93 per cent in some areas, child labour continues to exist in Kenya. The causes and underlying factors appear to be no different from those obtaining in other countries even though the cultural and traditional aspects may differ. The pervasiveness of poverty in so far as child labour is concerned appears to be widely

spread, conveying different cultural situations and other factors that observed in Asia and Latin America. The main thrust in the nature and the perpetuation of the problem of child labour as we shall see even in the case of Nigeria is the same.

There are a few organisations in Kenya that are sound, the Undugu Society which started in 1975 to provide basic services to the parking boys of Nairobi has developed into an integrated development organisations providing community based services. The street girls' programme designed to meet the needs of Nairobi's slum dwellers is another success story. It has a staff of 140 to provide informal education, vocational training and counselling. SOLWADI (Solidarity with Women in Distress) based in Mombasa provides courses in sewing, pottery and simple secretarial work opening doors to various professions. Thus young girls are offered an alternative to prostitution.

Finally, I have a personal knowledge of Kenya. From 1976 to 1978 I was chairman of the Zambia-Kenya Ministerial Permanent Commission on economic development. In this capacity I visited urban and rural Kenya with Mwai Kibaki, then Kenya's Minister of Finance. I saw for myself the problem of child labour in Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru. When I embarked on this study in 1989 I used Anthony Matoka, my son who was based in Nairobi as a

Zambian officer in the Diplomatic Service, to supply information on this subject. I made further visits to get more details which are contained in this chapter.

6. Nigeria.

Nigeria, the last of the six developing countries we shall discuss, is a large country with a diverse cultural heritage, a big population and endowed with an abundance of natural resources. One of the fast developing countries in Africa, Nigeria offers a unique experience of child labour. Schildkrout (1978 pp.109-138) reveals the effects of religious beliefs on children in Nigeria. Her observations on urban Kano confirm that child labour there is highly encouraged by religion. The Purdah women who by their belief cannot do any domestic work by themselves rely entirely on young boys and girls to do their work and run their errands. The girls, more than boys, are entrusted to do their work and run their errands. Again the girls, more than boys are with Purdah women most of the day doing the cooking, baby-sitting, caring for the younger children, washing up and even buying and selling. The boys meanwhile commute between distances to acquire the daily necessities of life as directed by elders. The children do a lot of this free of charge as they are either related to Purdah women or are bonded in one way or another. Those who are paid, do work long hours in dangerous conditions for very little

pay.

It is also a tradition in West Africa for young girls to work towards their married future. It is not uncommon for a girl to prepare for her marriage by selling at a market or being engaged in some self-help scheme in preparation for her marriage. There is always a competition to see who organises a good wedding. Young people sell in depressed markets, part time or full time. Even if their work is not productive, as long as they release others for productive work, for example when they look after children so that the owners of children can be free to work elsewhere on a productive undertaking, they are involved in child labour and its perpetuation.

School children, for instance do help with harvests on a seasonal basis. They could be wage labourers in factories. Bequele and Boyden (1988) point out that child labour in West Africa is mostly found in unregistered under-capitalised enterprises in competitive and volatile or seasonal markets. This situation, as we have seen is similar to that obtaining in India, Mexico, the Philippines and Kenya where seasonally and volatility of the market also play an important role in encouraging the use of child labour.

Further, the unregistered status of some of the production activities in Nigeria is similar in its effect on child labour. The subcontracting system in the carpet

industry in India and the clothing industry in the Philippines with the unregistered and under-capitalised production activities result, at the tail end of the subcontracting, in the exploitation of child labour with no formal contracts or condition of service offered. Here, as in India, or Mexico and Philippines the employer may be in league with the parents and widespread poverty and institutional constraints prevent justice being done even by non-Government organisations that would be expected to easily gain access to such activities than state agents could.

In the rural sector, child labour abounds in agricultural production as elsewhere. This, including domestic work constitutes a substantial portion of child labour, domestic work is part of child labour in the informal sector under the guise of traditional or religious socialisation of child labour. The practice of Purdah women discussed above is a good example.

In the urban sector, and the rural sector to some extent, apprenticeship is a common trap for exploitative child labour. In some cases not even a wage is paid and the recruits are satisfied with receiving some kind of skill or food for their labour. In Nigeria, as in the Philippines, India and Kenya, employers exercise considerable authority over their young employees, in various ways. Further, children have no access to legal

rights mainly for reasons stated above such as employers being in league with parents. Legal provisions which may be in existence, cannot assist the child. In any case, there is no alternative employment in sight if legal action jeopardises current employment. Above all, bonding of children in return for loans, is practiced as in India and the system is perpetuated since employers are not obliged to reveal details of employment or remuneration.

Finally, child labour in the Nigerian urban informal sector, is exemplified by the position and practices of the powerful market women. They employ many youths to assist them at their stall. The youths are known to work long hours for very little pay. The middle class such as teachers and professional women do employ children to assist them with house work. The youth so employed have no fixed time of work and are not reasonably remunerated.

CONCLUSION

From the six countries cited above we are able to conclude that the problem of child labour is widespread in Asia, Latin America and Africa. Child labour is found in rural as well as in urban areas of the third world countries. In rural areas it is more practiced in agricultural and rural industries. In urban areas it is found in small unregistered industries which have sprung up as a result of growth in the informal sector. There are, however, big industries that are involved in child

labour through the systems of subcontracting and patronage. The formal sector of urban areas rarely pose a problem as there are laws and rules laid down to guide such industries on the employment of child labour. The laws, however, are quite often circumvented at the behest of both parents and employers. The informal sector has no boundaries; its nature is dictated by necessity and children find it easier to negotiate jobs in the informal than in the formal sector as the variety of jobs is on the increase. In the crowded towns, those with skills create industries to produce whatever they can sell to the growing population in urban areas. They set up lock-making factories, window frame factories, brickmaking factories, welding services, bathtub and sanitary ware, construction of houses, fabrication of household items repair of domestic appliances, and plumbing. In his class is included the building of tin or cardboard houses in shanty towns.

Looking at child labour in the above six countries, one is certain of one thing and that is that efforts are being made by Governments of these countries to reduce child labour to the barest minimum. These efforts are in the form of local legislative and policy measures and external assistance from Non Governmental Organisations. The ILO is active in all these countries to assist respective governments to adhere to Conventions that have been adopted in favour of the child. UNICEF, NGOs and the World Health Organisation (WHO) have taken a very active part in the battle to save the child.

The ratification of ILO Conventions and UN Declaration of the Rights of Children have also played an important role in the conscientization of societies and their governments about the negative aspects and practices of child labour. At the same time, the need for regulated child work, and not labour, for the purpose of socialisation includes the striking of a balance between the time children spend on work assisting parents and the time they spend on their education, leisure, cultural activities and their personal development.

Studies of the six countries discussed in this Chapter have shown that in the formal sector child labour has been reduced considerably because of the laws and regulations against the practice. In any event, in the formal sector use is being made of machinery and techniques which are replacing the child in industry. In the informal sector, as we have seen, the battle continues as child labour and abuse are at their highest point in this sector.

Public awareness through the media and condemnation of child labour by Government agencies and NGOs is having an effect on users of child labour. However, there is the usual justification cited by some employers that they are doing the public a great service by employing needy children who would otherwise be in the streets begging and stealing. Unfortunately, very often, parents of poor children agree with this point of view.

In the third world the greatest drawback is lack of dynamic economic development and this includes the countries under review. Economic stagnation gives way to frustration, hunger

countries under review. Economic stagnation gives way to frustration, hunger and poverty. School leavers find they have no hope for jobs in the formal sector. Some children cannot even attend school because there are no school places for them and where schools exist, children cannot afford the fees and tuition.

Population is on the increase in all developing countries due to improved medical facilities and health education generally. In fact mortality rates have been reduced, following improvements in health care and efficient delivery of medical services. The rural urban migration has also increased the population in towns, creating the need for more social facilities. Post colonial governments in most of the third world countries, cannot balance their budgets let alone meet the cost of services for social ministries whose responsibility it is to provide education welfare and social amenities for children and the youth.

In a later chapter, Zambia's experience will show similarly the problems that are faced by third world countries in their quest to develop quickly and provide such services for their population, in the hope of eliminating child labour through the development effort.

*In the third world labour, which is forced on children by poverty, has caused most children to assume a wide range of adult responsibilities. This view is shared by McPherson (1987) who observes that with urbanisation and industrialisation, the economic status of the child has

increased. The kind of work that children in developing countries engaged in today and the expeditious manner in which assignments are accomplished amazes tourists from developed countries. It is ironic that the poor in Asia and Africa have not learnt to keep their families small. It might be supposed that the hardships brought about by increased costs of education and the high cost of living would have spurred the people, particularly the poor, into the practice of keeping smaller families. Despite these obstacles the habit of having many children per family has continued even in urban areas.

From the case studies of the six developing countries discussed in this chapter it can be said, in summary, that although poverty is the main primary cause of child labour, in terms of situations, conditions and attitudes that are of a cultural, social and economic nature contribute or reinforce poverty as a primary cause of child labour. Since poverty is also intertwined with class, status, economic and power relations, there are important elements of stratification that are involved in child labour. These are reinforced in most of the countries under study in various ways such as by the caste and bonding systems in India; the subcontracting practice in India; subcontracting and patronage system in the Philippines; religious beliefs as in the case of Purdah women in Nigeria who enjoy the domestic services of child labour, the seasonality of certain production activities and of market conditions, exemplified by the

clothing industries in the Philippines; strawberry sorting and packaging industry in Mexico, and by the harvesting in Kenya. There is also the marginalisation and alienation of the children of the street in Brazil, Kenya and India.

In response to severe poverty which can also be traced to the problems of inequality, distribution, scarcity of resources, inadequacy of school and training facilities, and underdevelopment generally and in an effort to survive, the poor have no option but to encourage child labour. The children themselves being powerless, may in many cases be victims of the atrocities arising from the use of adult power over them; as children they cannot always make their own decisions and they also see their labour as an obligation in order to assist their families gain supplementary income.

It has also been seen that the nature of child labour encompasses a wide range of activities. These include wage labour in a variety of industries and economic activities such as carpet weaving, deep sea fishing, match manufacturing, woodbased industries, clothing industries, harvesting of fruit and other crops, forestry and domestic services. On the other hand, there are the self-employed, as most of the street children engage in streets such as selling newspapers, washing cars and stealing.

With their families, children have also worked as seasonal migrant workers and in some cases while their

own contribution may not be economically important, they have been able to release those that can be economically productive. There are also child workers who alternate between school and work or who engage in work during the school holidays.

The mode of payment is generally wage payment, but there are those that may be paid on piece rates or kind while some may not even be paid on the grounds that they are staying with relatives who will help to train them and provide schooling or that they are apprenticed to learn a trade but are ultimately not taught anything.

The reasons for the existence and perpetuation of child labour include too early involvement in work for lack of school facilities and families needing to raise supplementary income. While domestic work can also be highly exploitative and abusive, street child labour is equally degrading and may result in social marginalisation of individuals who lose social contact with home or society at large. Although ILO Conventions have been adopted and progressive legislation and policy measures to prohibit or regulate child labour exist in almost all of the countries under study, enforcement has proved a hard nut to crack on account of the lack or absence of factory or industrial inspectors. Enforcement of legislation and implementation of policy have been further impeded by the attitude of employers who, benefitting from the cheap labour of children, take advantage of their inability to form trade unions and

acquire bargaining power, pose as genuine benefactors of the children when in reality they are exploiters.

The elimination of child labour can only be achieved over the long term in the light of the various constraints.

In the short term, improvement of working conditions of those who have attained the minimum age to work and a school leaving age, must be addressed. The shortage of school places due to rapidly increasing population and scarcity of resources are problems that Governments concerned continue to address. Accordingly, no one, single measure can eliminate child labour. Social action as well as closing the economic gap for individual households will constitute an integrated part of the overall solution.

For Zambia, the introduction of the structural adjustment programme by Western countries to assist the country recover from economic ills has brought about untold difficulties such as raising the already high cost of living to heights the ordinary man cannot afford. This increased difficulty has resulted in many parents opting to find their children employment instead of living them to complete their school programmes. Many children have admitted being taken away from schools and placed under labour gangs to make bricks and provide cheap labour in return for some money to support family budgets.

The problem of the structural adjustment programme as experienced in many African countries is that in its initial stages it creates more difficulties for the

receiving countries by applying strict discipline.

CHAPTER IV

THE COLONIAL PERIOD : 1924-1964

1. INTRODUCTION
2. HISTORICAL EVENTS
3. THE CHILD AT WORK
4. CONCLUSION

CHAPTER IV

CHILD LABOUR IN ZAMBIA DURING

THE COLONIAL PERIOD : 1924-1964INTRODUCTION

As we enter Chapter IV on child labour in Zambia let us point out what we have learnt from the six countries in Chapter III which we do not expect to feature in our Zambian experience. First from India we learned that child labour was rife in carpet making factories. This industry has not taken off in Zambia, so there is no child labour in this field. From India we also have the caste system and bonded labour, fields in which children are exploited. These do not feature in child labour in Zambia.

From Philippines we learn of the evil of deep water fishing in which children are involved as workers in family groups or individuals. This particular vice can also be eliminated from child labour in Zambia. Some children are involved in fishing labour but only on the surface of Zambia's lakes and rivers as companions of adults. Such activities are common around lake Kariba, the Bangweulu and Mweru lakes in Northern Zambia and along Zambia's big rivers like Zambezi, Luapula, Kabompo and Kafue.

Children involved in work resulting from religion (the Purdah cult) like that practised in Nigeria by the Purdah women are not similarly employed in Zambia. So far no religious practice in Zambia has called for child labour.

The practice in Kenya of children working on farms and plantations does exist in Zambia's farming communities and in CITEMENE practising provinces of Northern, Luapula and North Western Zambia. The style of street children in Nairobi and Mombasa is fast developing on the main streets of Zambia, in Chapter VII we discuss street children under UNICEF's workshop.

The kind of child labour performed by the street child in Latin America's Brazil and Mexico has a different style. In Brazil and Mexico children roam and patronise streets on a 24 hour basis. They operate in groups under tough leaders. Very rarely do they work as individuals. The Government of Brazil has been known to gun them down as pests on some occasions, a practise which has been heavily condemned by the international community. Mexico has been known to export child labour to the United States to work on strawberry farms. There has never been any organised child labour from Zambia that has been 'exported' to neighbouring countries.

As we embark on Zambia's experience in the coming chapters, we can be rest assured that the nature of child labour as experienced in the countries reviewed in Chapter III are unheard of. However, the practice of using children to

perform adult functions for cheap wages is universal. We have seen that in all the six countries child labour abounds in both rural and urban areas. This is also true of Zambia.

Zambia's child labour in rural areas is in the domestic field and on agriculture in the main. In urban areas it is in construction of sub-standard houses in shanty towns on the outskirts of towns, apart from domestic professions and many other commercial and industrial fields that have developed with time. These details are available in Chapter VI.

In Chapter III, we surveyed and discussed the incidence of child labour in some six developing countries. In this Chapter we shall consider the practice of child labour in pre-independence Zambia by looking at the historical background in terms of the emergence of the wage labour market in Zambia during the colonial period. This background would lead us on to the study of child labour in Zambia during the post-independence period which is the thrust of the next Chapter (Chapter V). The next Chapter will concentrate on the various categorisations of the prevailing forms of child labour, the impact of the rapid population growth and the unprecedented rural/urban migration ushering the decline of the economy which was once prosperous before the steep fall in the price of copper. Copper still is the mainstay of the economy, earning, as it does almost 98 per cent of the foreign exchange of the country. In this way, it is hoped that we shall establish the fact that generally speaking, the problem of

child labour existed in both rural and urban areas during the pre and post independence periods while the role of the copper mining industry which took root in the schooling, in the development, nature and character of wage labour will be specially noted with particular reference to the social and economic conditions that contributed, and still contribute to the existence of child labour in Zambia.

EVENTS

The participation of Zambians in the labour market during the pre-independence period has been traced and set by some people to the time immediately after the abolition of the slave trade and after the British South African Company, who gave up formal responsibility of Government in 1924, had assumed responsibility to administer the country. This view actually ignores the role of Zambian people taken as slaves from the country to America, played in the labour markets here and elsewhere. After all, slavery is merely forced and unpaid labour. However, the former statement is correct when one considers the participation of Zambians in the internal labour market and indeed the labour markets of neighbouring territories.

The British South African Company (BSA), incorporated by Royal Charter, was led by John Cecil Rhodes who was an imperialist to the core but also a shrewd businessman. The company was mainly interested in minerals and other natural resources but in order to establish viable trade and influence, it annexed

the territory and established an administration to create favourable influence and conditions for its activities. At first, the territory was divided into two parts, namely North Western Rhodesia and North Eastern Rhodesia which by 1911 had been unified and became known as Northern Rhodesia. The company had been employing Africans as porters, and as other manual workers in the course of its activities to trade, exploit minerals and other resources, establish concessions and administer the territory. In 1914, World War I broke out and the British were fighting the Germans in Europe as well as in Africa. Northern Rhodesia, adjacent to Tanganyika, then a German territory, became involved in the 1914-18 War. Many Africans were enlisted as 'Askaris' (Soldiers) and as "Amatenga-tenga" (those who lift or carry cargo from one place to another) i.e. the porters. Although this is a special form of labour, all the same, it was a visible and an important participation in the labour market before the on-rush to the copper mines in the late 1920s to early 1930s. In fact, the renewal of the activities suspended during World War I hostilities produced a high demand for labour which partly was satisfied by the returning 'Askaris' some of whom had fought in what was known to them as "Nkhondo Ya Ku Fyefe", the war of Fyfe, a battle probably fought near a place Fyfe apparently named after Fyfe in Scotland.

The Great War as the 1914-18 War was also referred to, came to an end in 1918 when the 11th November was declared as the

Armistice Day, but the Great War influenced the population in terms of conscientization and the entry of Africans into the labour market. The discipline of the regiments and industrial discipline of the mines experienced, coupled with other activities elsewhere in the country and in the neighbouring territories of Tanganyika, Southern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland (later to be known as Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Malawi) heralded the entry and further participation of Zambians into the labour market. Thus, it was now a common feature to see Zambian Africans working as, house servants, porters, farm labourers, wagon drivers, clerks, mail runners, soldiers and store-keepers. By 1929, it was estimated that 10,500 Zambians were working in the neighbouring copper-rich Province of Belgian Congo, Northwest of the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia called Katanga Mines while 22,341 were working in the mines within the country and 4,600 were working in the country outside the mines (Fetter 1990).

By 1924, when the B.S.A. Company, at its own behest, handed over the administration of the territory to the British Government and the Crown conferred protectorate status on the territory, a substantial number of Zambians had entered the cash economy in mission stations, the railways, the mines, the administration, European farms and households. The (1914-18) war efforts had also led to the rapid growth of the mines as copper was in high demand. Inevitably, this led to the growth of the labour force on the mines and elsewhere and led

ultimately, to the establishment of a dual economy, i.e. firstly the cash economy in the mining areas and developing towns, then secondly, the subsistence economy of the village which was now looking for the developing urban areas markets for its agricultural produce. Thus the Africans in Zambia could now participate in the cash economy in two ways namely, by selling their labour or their agricultural produce.

Saul and Woods (1979 p.54) have expressed this more clearly when they state that:

The colonial situation was everywhere one in which the local population were both exposed to new goods and services and in many cases, subject to specific Government-enforced economic or labour demands with the result that new needs were generated which could only be met by participation in the cash-bound market economy. Two ways of participation were open to them. Sale of their labour or of their agricultural produce.

Thus for the above and other reasons, Zambians began to seek employment within and outside the country. Consequently, Zambians, like Malawians and Tanzanians, continued to abandon the subsistence sector and travelled far within and outside the country in search of employment, thereby entering the cash economy of the capitalist relations of production. If in the initial period such activities were undertaken mainly by adult males, it was only a matter of time when children and women, not by design, but force of circumstances, could begin to

participate in the labour market. While the subsistence economy may cater for each family and, indeed, its extended family members, the situation is not so easily amenable when it comes to families that solely depended on their wages for a living. This was particularly so since in the 1940s as Fetter puts it:

"The..... policy of treating Africans as short term urban workers who would return to their villages was built into the wage scales, the physical layout of compounds, the regulations governing visitation practices. Wages hardly increased during the 1930s and many households had a hard time making both ends meet".

By contrast J. Merle Davis (1967 pp.62-63) talks of unsatisfactory feeding arrangements on the mines by the authorities for both married and single African minors. In this case, in contrast to the subsistence economy, involvement of the Africans even in the 1930s economy at substandard rates of pay threw into relief household deprivation and poverty which are among the primary causes of child labour as we have seen in Chapter III.

The participation by Africans in the cash economy was not only for the sake of meeting the demand for new goods important as this factor may have been. There were forced needs perceived by both the B.S.A. Company and the colonial administration that succeeded the company in running the country. Wage labour was necessary to meet the tax obligations which in some

cases were paid in kind through the contribution of labour to say, road construction, while in other cases the workers could look forward to pocketing the surplus after meeting the tax obligations. Conscription, including service in the army, was not uncommon. Forced recruitment as migrant labour (known as "Chibalo") to Southern Rhodesia and South Africa which as highly resented, was also common and in fact was not abolished until after independence. Ironically, there was an outcry on the part of the migrant labour itself against the 1966 abolition order as they saw in this action of the then Government of an independent Zambia, an attempt to deprive them of employment opportunities that enabled them to remit money back to their families despite the many indignities suffered by the recruits.

The system of operating or conducting a migrant labour that returned home at the end of the contract was in fact an extension of the "Chibalo" even within the country. Again, Fetter aptly puts it:

Till the mid 1940s it was colonial labour policy to recruit a migrant male labour force that returned to the rural areas after completing work contracts. Women and children were to reside in the villages maintaining households and fields but the reality was somewhat different, as most of the mining companies already since the 1930s had encouraged men to bring wives and children to town so as to increase labour productivity. Women and

children also migrated on their own. In the official view of the time such women were assumed to make their living by immorality since there was no wage employment for them (Fetter, 1990).

Some more light has been shed on the labour situation of the time by Annual Reports for instance the Northern Rhodesia Annual Report on Native Affairs for the year 1933, a year of great depression and hardship to the country. The mines experienced great production difficulties resulting in labour reduction and unsettlement. The Annual Report states, *inter alia*:

"The depression was a turning point for where as before labour was in short supply and workers were often unreliable, jobs became scarce and desertions decreased"

The report goes on to further say that:

"There was a marked rise in the number of men who brought their families to the Copperbelt and spent a longer period working here. The proportion of married employees at the mines averaged 40 percent of the total work force by 1933 and at the Roan Antelope Mine where there was a deliberate policy of encouraging longer settlement, by 1935 over 50 per cent of the workers were married with an average of almost two years."

The above situation could be compared with the situation at Roan Antelope in 1927 when only 20 per cent of the labour force had wives.

At the same time, the proximity of the Katanga Mines to the Zambian Copperbelt was a constant reminder that African labour could, if permitted undertake skilled work for very low wages. It was therefore not surprising though regrettable that although Africans improved in work skills on the Copperbelt, wages did not follow suit. In 1929 the starting pay on the mines was twelve shillings and six pence (12s 6d) for a shift (30) day ticket for surface labour and seventeen shillings and six pence (17s 6d) for underground work. Conditions such as these meant that as the Africans were now being joined by their families, they had to find some means to supplement their strained household budgets. The presence of wives meant eventually the presence of children some of whom migrated from the rural areas. With children in abundance, their involvement in child labour as houseboys, gardenboys and babytenders for European miners' families was inevitable. Meanwhile, the Government's policy of encouraging migration of labour to secure the circulation of money and skills in the areas continued. The Government was also anxious about the possible presence of large numbers of Africans in towns particularly in the event of unemployment. This attitude reflected a feeling, at the time, that the African's natural home was the village and indirect rule strengthened this attitude whereby the proper form of Government for Africans was considered to be that which was tribal, their proper home was in the Reserves, and that their sojourns in the towns,

though desirable to secure the labour supply, must surely be temporary, it was argued by the authorities then.

This Government policy of persuading the Africans to remain in rural areas was emphasized in the Executive Council of Northern Rhodesia, Elena Berger reports that:

"In 1939 the Executive Council of the Northern Rhodesia Government passed a resolution endorsing the territory's recognised policy that in principle every avenue of employment should be open to the Native though it was recognised that the training of the Natives by this Government was directed towards their return to their reserves to raise the standard of living therein. The Government's policy of encouraging migration of labour to secure the circulation of money and skills in the rural areas and its anxiety about congregations of Africans at the towns in the event of widespread unemployment, reflected a feeling that the African's natural homes was the country village. Indirect Rule underlined this attitude, the proper form of government for Africans was tribal, their proper homes in the reserves and so sojourns in the town, though desirable to secure labour supply, must surely be temporary. (Elena Berger, 1974)"

Orde-Browne attempted a credible exposition of the origins of the participation of Zambians in the labour market based on the anthropological and sociological background of the Zambian communities (Orde-Browne, 1933). He observed that these

communities consisted of groups comprising the hunters, the pastoralists and the agriculturists with a tendency to progress from the first to the last. Orde-Browne further observed that among common features found in most of the tribes in their original state were that law was civil rather than criminal, marriage was regarded as removal of a social unit from a group requiring compensation, and useful occupation was the justification of the land tenure.

Thus in the Zambian case, the nature of the occupations and the culture, determinant as we saw in Chapter III, the extent and involvement of adults and children in the labour market. In terms of Orde-Browne's observations, Zambian society has progressed through all the three groups even though two or all of them may exist simultaneously within the same community. Before European settlement in Zambia, the people lived in village communities under tribal chiefs. The activities of the adults were mainly subsistence farming combined with hunting in some communities, while in other communities subsistence farming was combined with pastoral activities and hunting was also prevalent. In short, the communities passed through and at the same time comprised three groups identified by Orde-Browne, as hunters, pastoralists and agriculturist. Thus the Bemba-speaking communities, who were to become predominant on the Copperbelt, were largely hunters and agriculturists through which they practiced their "CHITEMENE" system whereby the menfolk lobbed tree branches, laid them in

heaps to dry. The dried heaps were then burnt, leaving behind circular patches that were rich in plant nutrients that enabled millet, their staple food to grow well and provide a rich harvest. They also planted cassava although it did not require the special CHITEMENE farming method to do well. Communities in the North-Western, Southern and Central areas were hunters or fishermen, and pastoralists, who kept cattle and goats and were also agriculturists as they grew crops including cassava and millet. The people in the Eastern areas, were also hunters, agriculturists and pastoralists, keeping cattle, goats and growing millet and later maize after it was introduced, probably by the Portuguese. In the village the men built shelters and grain stores. The men also hunted for the pot and protected their families while the women did the cooking and cared for the children.

The role of the children was found in group activities. The boys played a kind of wrestling on the sand or even fought to see who was strongest in their group. Similarly, girls performed women's roles, for example, Fetter (1990) refers to child labour by girls in the colonial period as follows:

"Young girls were first encouraged to imitate and later to perform much of adult women's work in and around the household, thus receiving education for adulthood in the homes of parents, guardians or other relatives; they were rarely restricted to their individual family. Small boys would learn to do similar tasks in the same context;

sweeping huts, fetching water, keeping fires going and cooking; at the time of puberty they were removed from the women's circle. Both boys and girls performed some common functions.

According to the Annual Report quoted by Fetter we learn that many school boys lived with friends and relatives, staying only three months on average and moving on when people (grew) tired of them. None got sufficient food from the people with whom they lived, and they had partly to fend for themselves. This they did by begging at the mine feeding store or the markets, earning money as golf caddies, and theft. Many lived in the mine bachelor quarters.

"They were allowed to sleep in the houses occupied by single men and were given the scraps left over after the men were fed. In return they were expected to keep the houses clean and sometimes to do the washing. They were seldom paid any wages, although they were sometimes promised five shillings or seven shillings six pence per month (Fetter, 1990 p 224).

They fetched wild edible mushrooms when these were in season and also assisted in domestic work. These services were rendered in return for food, shelter and support. In some communities particularly in the North Western areas, at the appropriate age say between eight and ten years the boys underwent circumcision ceremonies. The girls attended puberty ceremonies from the age of twelve onwards. According to

Fetter (1990 pp 226-227):

children in the Northern Rhodesian (now Zambia) towns often provided service to kin, such was not the result of the customary obligations that placed them at the beck and call of relatives. Young boys worked to lessen the pressures on their urban families' sub-standard household budgets and housing space to provide alternatives to the lack of rural earning opportunities or to eke out a living on their own. Although not all of them were paid, they were units of labour. They worked cheaply and did the dirty work that in many ways helped relieve the colonial administration of paying living wages and providing acceptable housing.

Orde-Browne (1933) observes that in this type of society, the younger men were the defensive or offensive force of the tribe, though in many cases they also undertook heavy work such as hut-building, tree-fetching or clearing of ground for agricultural purposes. The boys also herded cattle, goats or sheep while the girls helped their mothers with domestic work. This state of affairs in the traditional set up changed dramatically as and when Africans chose to leave their communities to seek wage employment by offering their labour. There were many and varied factors that acted as incentives for Africans to seek wage employment. Orde-Browne cites such factors as the institutional and Governmental pressures so that to the self sufficing life of the villager, were added

some requirements which could only be met by working for an employer. Taxation and reliance on increasing variety or imported goods or articles desired by the communities were among the prominent factors. According to Orde-Browne (1933) as the worker's need for money to buy novelties grew, so his incentive to go to work to earn it would be greater. There was also love for adventure and the wish to see more of the world. In this case the flow of labour was voluntary and the employer had to offer at any rate moderately attractive terms and conditions if he had to succeed in gathering an adequate labour force.

Taxation as an incentive to work was more effective than the demand for personal goods and the encouragement to meet tax obligations was always accompanied by an exertion of pressure, gentle or otherwise, in the form of outright coercion. Unwilling villagers would leave their villages for weeks on end while the collectors were in the areas for fear of arrest for forced labour, "CIBALO". According to Charles van Onselen (1980 p.124), adults as well as children were recruited for chibalo on Rhodesian mines. Boys came to occupy in compounds, a type of surrogate female role in addition to cooking for miners. It is, however, also true that developing technologies such as iron smelting, gunsmith, cloth weaving, salt preparation, hoe and axe making were discouraged in favour of factory made items from Europe for which markets had to be developed.

Although these methods of applying pressure met with criticism on moral grounds, the methods were defended on the promise that if the Zambian blackman were to advance and raise himself above his level, he had to be encouraged to exert himself and attain higher levels of living (Orde-Browne, 1933).

The history of migrant labour in Zambia dates from 1930s when Barotseland was the headquarters of a labour recruiting company registered in South Africa as Witwatersrand Native Labour Association Limited for the sole purpose of obtaining labour from Zambia for the South African Mines. Young men were recruited, medically examined and if successful despatched to Johannesburg by air and land for periods ranging from six months to two years for work on the mines. While serving in South Africa part of their pay was paid to their dependants in their home districts. WENELA opened up Barotseland with development by providing roads and other infrastructure. Socially, the people benefitted from incomes and a higher standard of living. Although wives and children were left behind, on the return home of their husbands and parents they benefitted greatly from material wealth and improved homes.

On the advent of independence in 1964, the African government did not think it was right for independent Zambia to be associated with migrant labour with South Africa, a racist country. Legislation was passed in 1966 to ban WENELA from further recruitment of Zambians. This seemingly progressive

move brought protests from the people of Barotseland, now Western Province who were being deprived of a reasonable income from the Gold mines. Members of Parliament from the Barotse Province voiced their protest and even threatened to break away from the new Republic of Zambia. No alternative jobs were found for the Lozi people except for a few who were taken on in Bancroft Mine on the Copperbelt. These were later known to be supporters of Nalumino Mundia a Lozi politician when he formed his Sichaba Party mainly for the Lozi people of Barotseland. To subdue this tribal party, deaths of prominent politicians were recorded in political clashes on the Copperbelt in 1967.

To this date the people of Western Province (formerly Barotse Province) have not forgiven the first African government led by Kaunda for stopping this migratory labour system.

According to Maxwell Mutukwa Mutukwa, a former Member of Parliament and a recruiting agent who set up Wenela Recruitment Station in Senanga, in 1939, "Wenela did a lot of good to the people of Western Province; for not only did it create employment for the people in the area; the province also benefitted in terms of development. Poverty in the province was drastically reduced. Instead of competing how to steal cattle or how much beer they could drink or how much dagga they could smoke, young men competed for chances to go to South Africa to work in the gold mines and earn money. After two years, these young men, who might have gone to South

Africa wearing rags, returned to Northern Rhodesia dressed in expensive suits and carrying with them a lot of money and goods like radios and bicycles. They used part of the money to buy cattle or goats. This is why Western Province is presently one of the major beef-producing areas in the country....."

Zambia Daily Mail, July 30, 1993

As regards the labour force attracted by the Copperbelt mines, Holleman (1973) reports that the Copperbelt attracted a large and growing working population mainly comprising two culturally and economically widely diverse and disparate groups, a minority of skilled and semi-skilled migrant whites and a large majority of unskilled and largely illiterate low paid indigenous black. Exploitation of the ore bodies of the Zambian Copperbelt require the importation of capital equipment and skilled labour from Europe and South Africa, and the deployment of unskilled labour recruited from among the rurally based African population. This was so according to Daniel (1979) because the potential labour reserve of the Copperbelt area itself was limited because that area was sparsely populated and lacked agricultural development. As a result, a system of migrant labour already referred to above, was developed and labour was predominantly drawn from "among the Bemba speaking peoples of the present day Luapula and Northern Provinces of Zambia" (Daniel, 1979).

Gann (1964), reports that all the while migrants needed

African labourers to a greater or lesser extent. He states that the colonial administration itself was always in need of the Africans who at the time were unwilling to work. They had at times to be forced to do so. Gann further states that the taxation system in the Northern Rhodesia territory had affected the colonialists south of the Zambezi, who, lacking capital to buy machinery, depended on settler farmers, largely on African labour, mostly from Northern Rhodesia.

According to Roberts (1976) The B.S.A. Company viewed Northern Rhodesia mainly as a valuable labour reserve for mines in both Katanga and Southern Rhodesia in which the Company had shares and anxious to see that the mines in both Katanga and Southern Rhodesia obtained their labour as cheaply as possible. Katanga as already stated, was a mining province of Belgian Congo north-west of Zambia. The province and country have since independence been renamed Shaba and the Republic of Zaire, respectively.

In the early years therefore, a variety of administrative and fiscal measures were used by the colonial authorities, firstly to encourage a supply of raw labour and secondly, to integrate labour migration with the administration's requirement of a strong rural base in African life (Daniel, 1979). As discussed earlier, these measures were intended to incalculable regular demand for cash earnings among the African male adult population on the one hand and be strong enough to satisfy labour demand, and restricted to a level that would not

disrupt the rural economy and encourage permanent urbanisation on the other.

If the fears and concerns of the Government about the possible congregation of Africans in urban areas in the event of unemployment were justified, they were certainly not allayed. Meanwhile only single Africans were welcome to the Copperbelt while the migrant labour policy lasted. It was not until after the economic depression in 1933 and the strikes of the 1940s that more Africans braved it to find jobs on the Copperbelt and indeed elsewhere in urban Zambia where European settlements had brought with them employment. Even the Public Service was beginning to attract Africans from many rural areas of Zambia. Africans were no longer visitors to towns and as long as they obtained a Registration and Identity Certificate known as "CHITUPA", they found their way to urban areas and if possible found a job on the mines or in the Public Service. The "CHITUPA" continued to exist until its abolition in 1965 and its replacement by the National Registration Card but the migrant labour system whereby African workers came to towns on their own, leaving their families behind and after six months of work went back to rural areas to rejoin them, had long ended.

In 1939, World War II (1939-45) broke out and again Zambia was to play her part in this conflict which engulfed the whole world. Not only did Zambian Regiments fight alongside other Commonwealth Regiments but the country also contributed

materially to the execution of the war. According to records of the Chamber of Mines, during the first years of the war more than half Britain's copper supplies came from North America, but by 1945 Northern Rhodesia had been able to supply 67.9 per cent of the copper imports. The influence of World War II on the labour market situation and on the participation of Africans in the labour market in Zambia was even greater than that of World War I. Further urbanisation grew phenomenally and the problems of housing, overcrowding and shortage of school places, were also aggravated. These influences coupled with the desire to participate in the money economy, paved the way for greater involvement of children in the labour market in both the informal and formal sectors of the urban and rural areas alike.

The period 1953-1963 was politically characterised by the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland which had been imposed on Africans in 1953 by the British Government supported by Europeans, particularly settlers in Southern Rhodesia. The Federal State comprised Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It was a period of intense political activity, with Africans clamouring for self-government and dismantling of the Federation. This was despite Africans' strong opposition on the grounds that it would further consolidate white supremacy and delay independence for both Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia which were then not self-governing Protectorates.

During the decade 1930-40, many Africans walked hundreds of kilometres through the bush to labour centres in urban areas and to the mines on the Copperbelt and at Broken Hill (now Kabwe). Some found employment while others found themselves in a large pool of the unemployed. The labour force came from almost all areas in the territory but the majority of workers came from the Northern and Western Provinces of the country. Although the mine labour force was predominantly from the Northern area (i.e. Bemba land) distribution of labour on the copper mines represented different tribes and parts of Zambia as well as some neighbouring countries, an important aspect in the future political development of the country. The Copperbelt became a "no man's land" or alternatively it belonged to all the various tribes of Zambia. This aspect was important in breaking tribalism and regionalism in the minds of future Copperbelt Africans. Up to this date this has augured well for the unity of the Copperbelt and therefore for the oneness of Zambia reflected in the country's motto "One Zambia One Nation."

Sociologically important in this scenario was the growth of a non-tribal community with loose kinship ties. Hence no single Zambian ethnic group has yet emerged as the ruler of the country. Of equal sociological importance is the existence of a culture on the Copperbelt different from that found in most parts of Zambia and rooted in the industrial and political environment of the area.

The labour movement, besides fighting for better conditions and increased pay, also contributed significantly to the struggle for independence. By this time child labour in both rural and urban areas had become an important aspect of the labour market. It is, however, ironic that during this period of political fomentation and activist groups about human rights, leading up to independence and after, neither the labour movement nor the Government had seriously taken up the question of child labour apart from supporting the various ILO Conventions that have been ratified and the various pieces of legislation, regulating the employment of the youth in certain industries and setting the minimum age for employment in each industrial activity. Perhaps the adult workers were too busy fighting for their own rights. The children's rights and interests have been not by design, marginalised in so far as their participation in the labour market is concerned.

At Independence, the Zambian Government broke loose all the requirements for Africans to produce Registration and Identity Certificates at points of entry to the urban areas although the existing security situation after the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Southern Rhodesia in 1965 soon demanded security checks requiring the production of National Registration Cards. During the period immediately after Independence, there was a large influx of people, including children, into urban areas. Town planning regulations were flouted or brushed aside. Unemployed people built and lived

in shackles in illegal townships some of which are now no longer temporary and provision of social amenities could not come with the growth of the population in these townships. This was the beginning of the severe social and economic conditions that now give rise to child labour and its exploitative consequences were being laid down.

2. THE CHILD AT WORK

The period under review witnessed child labour in urban as well as rural areas. The advent of an urban community on the mines and along the area referred to as "line of rail" from Livingstone to Chingola brought employment to the African child. In the early 1930's the African miner had acquired the status of a non migratory labourer. He was even allowed to settle in town with his wife and children unlike during the previous decade when he would be required to work for a period of six months and then return to the village for a forced break to be with his family. (Elena Berger 1974)

With his wife and children around the grown up children helped with domestic work at home. They then found employment as houseboys, garden boys, nunnies and kitchen boys in European residential places. Their pay ranged from two shillings and sixpence to about five shillings a month. Another field of employment was the European Club where boys worked as golf caddies, tennis attendants and general cleaners. (Fetter

1990)

The Mines' administration continued to have single African workers. These were housed in "Single-quarters" compounds where women were generally excluded. It is here that the African child found employment also. He became a ward of a miner in return he washed his clothes, cooked for him, fetched mushroom and wild fruit for him. He cleaned his sleeping quarters. In return for this service he was given food and clothing and some money to keep him going. His working time ranged from dawn to dusk, every day. The child was either a relative or an employee.

Meanwhile in the rural areas, the child worked on a variety of assignments. With a bow and arrows he hunted for the pot. At home he assisted with all domestic work. He assisted with field work as well as herding cattle. He was brought up to hunt quite early (Orde-Browne 1933).

The child was active in preparing the CITEMENE for millet planting. He would often climb the big trees and slice branches at an incredible speed. On the ground he gathered the scattered branches together in the form of a ring ready for burning after a few weeks. At harvest time the services of a child were most precious. With his youthful fingers he was normally much faster than the adults in picking the millet heads for the basket handing from his shoulders.

I was born and brought up in a village in Mwinilunga district of North Western Zambia. I therefore know from experience that an African child is brought up to do manual work from an early age. At the age of 10 years I can remember helping with

the CITEMENE. I also remember chasing wounded duickers or bucks with my father and uncles, accompanied by dogs. We would go on running, chasing the victim until the poor animal was completely exhausted. At this point it would be axed and killed. The next assignment would be for the boys to carry home the animal in pieces dripping with blood. We were told to be proud of blood dripping on our clothes as that was a sign of being prospective hunters.

Cutting of wood was another village assignment for boys of circumcision age, that is between 10 and twelve years. Boys had to ensure that their parents and grandparents had firewood supplies everyday. The wood would be fetched from distances of five to ten kilometers in old CITEMENE fields. Boys would cut and split old logs with their axes, tie up ten to fifteen pieces together and take them to the village. During funerals and other traditional ceremonies a lot of firewood would be required for providing heat and light to the occasion. Most village ceremonies took place at night. All village children of the right age would be expected to provide the necessary firewood without prompting. Failure to do so was a punishable offence - no food for them for a whole day. Since men ate from the INSAKA, a communal village shelter, effecting food sanctions on boys was quite easy.

According to Edward Kamuyuwa, 50 years old who came from Mwinilunga in January 1992, these practices are still on. Now the question is do they constitute child labour or child work. Are they not normal socialisation feats? What else would a village child be expected to do? Even if he is school going

or seeking leisure there are no obvious hazards in these village jobs.

The thing to note about this period before independence is that the Urban child did not do construction work. Time for shanty compounds had not arisen. The variety of jobs for him was limited to those described above. There was no shoe-shining, no begging, no car mending, no groceries; literally no modern tendencies of street occupation that we experience today. The variety of jobs has grown with time and need. Previously, the role of an African child was all embracing. He was involved in farming, production of tools such as hoes and axes; defence in the use of bows and arrows and communal tasks with adults of his village.

CONCLUSION

Child labour in Zambia dates back to the pre-colonial and colonial periods when all Zambia was rural and all labour was of a rural subsistence nature. In 1924, when the British Crown took over the administration of the territory under the name Northern Rhodesia, it took over a rural and potentially agriculturally rich country with mineral deposits that were later to transform the Copperbelt into an urban complex. The origins of child labour in Zambia can therefore historically be traced from the pre-colonial period. As has been observed in rural areas, it is rooted in the traditional cultural setting such as "CHITEMENE" System. In the modern industrial culture of the urban areas it assumed new habits such as shoe shining. In the traditional society, it was for ensuring the defence, safety and stability of the community and welfare of

society generally. In the urban and industrial area of the mines it was and now is for subsidising household necessities of life and also for obtaining the new consumer goods from outside Zambia, in particular Great Britain, the former colonising country.

Although this chapter serves to give the history of labour in Zambia, it also shows the rural-urban movement, a trend which is characteristic in the developing countries. This trend is also congruent with the growth and spread of child labour. In the next chapter we shall see the development of child labour in the established mining and other towns of Zambia.

CHAPTER V

POST INDEPENDENCE PERIOD: 1964-1992

- A. Economic Background and Rural-Urban Migration
- B. Supportive Youth Institutions and reform
- C. Forms of Child Labour obtaining in Zambia
- D. Effectiveness of the Law
- E. Conclusion

CHAPTER VPOST INDEPENDENCE PERIOD: 1964-1992A. Economic Background and Rural-Urban Migration

Zambia, a former British protectorate of Northern Rhodesia obtained its independence from Britain on 24th October, 1964. At that time its population was about 3 million people. Zambia covers an area of 752,000 square kilometres. At independence, the country had a sophisticated and prosperous copper mining industry, which now is in decline. As the ore bodies become exhausted, the grade of the ore is decreasing and with declining production and low copper prices, the profitability of copper mining has been adversely affected. Over the years the price of copper has fallen only to rise again when market conditions were favourable. Since 1975, however, copper has been experiencing low prices on the world market and with it the poverty that has been masked by the mining industry during the years of higher copper prices, has been accentuated. Thus at the time of higher copper prices, Zambia was relatively prosperous and at the time of lower prices, Zambia is a poor country. Agriculture was relatively under-developed and manufacturing industry almost non-existent, with most of the commodities being imported.

While copper was a blessing during the days of higher copper prices, the dominant mining industry resulted into a lop-sided economy as agriculture was neglected. Thus a dual economy of the urban industrial and commercial sector and the rural agricultural sector, developed. Agriculture has been the main

thrust of the development efforts in the post independence era. Agriculture development involving the peasantry and emerging farmers takes long to take root, it even takes longer to develop agriculture to a level where exported agro-products can replace copper in earning the much needed foreign exchange and as a source of Government revenue.

In the 27 years of independence, Zambia has, however, developed some manufacturing industry, mainly based on imported raw material and, to some extent, on agro-based activities. To expand this sector, agricultural development has been one of the main goals for the development policies that have been contained in Zambia's Transitional Development Plan from 1964 to 1965 and during five development plans from 1966 to 1993. The central theme of development in Zambia is raising the standard of living of the bulk of the population. However, to improve the standard of living of the majority of the people in a country with a rapidly increasing population can be a matter of great difficulty particularly when the rate of population growth exceeds the rate of growth of the economy, which during some years had registered negative growth rates. According to J.P. Banda, Director of Census and Statistics, in his address to the President Citizenship College in July 1990, population growth has gone up steadily owing to declining mortality and rising fertility and the current rate estimated 3.7 per annum. The 1990 Census puts the population of Zambia at 7.8 million (Banda 1990). He also observed that for the country as a whole, if fertility remains high and mortality continues to decline, the population was

bound to reach the 12 million mark in the year 2000. He added that the most striking feature of Zambia's population is its extreme youthfulness and that because of high fertility the Zambian population was becoming more and more youthful. The proportion of the population under the age of 15 years is about 49 per cent.

Zambia is one of the most urbanised countries in Africa, and the current estimate of the urban population is 51 per cent with a growth rate of 6.7 per cent per annum (1990 Census) which is extremely high. The two contributing factors to rapid urbanisation are stated as natural increase and people from rural areas go to urban areas in search of perceived employment opportunities and other development projects. The rural-urban migration has led to the growth of shanty compounds due to the shortage of accommodation in the townships. The standard of housing is low and the drainage and sewage disposal systems are poor. In some cases piped water is not available and crowding is accompanied by insanitary conditions which in some towns, including Lusaka the capital city, have given rise to outbreaks of cholera. Rural-urban migration has increased in pace and intensity since independence in 1964 despite the fact that Zambia has had a very short history of urbanisation.

The rate of urbanisation has been extremely high even though it has been declining recently at 8.9 and 6.2 per cent per annum in 1963-1969, and 1969-1980 periods respectively as revealed by the Fourth National Development Plan 1989-1993 p.54, which also makes this statement:

Despite this decline, the rate of urbanisation is still almost double the rate of growth of the nations population and 6.7 per cent per annum is much higher than the continental average of about 5.6 per cent.

Another aspect of this trend was observed by Fetter (1990, p.228) who has remarked that at independence in 1964, the rules and regulations that had constrained rural-urban migration and access to work and to housing were done away with. More people went to towns, especially women, anticipating new employment opportunities. By the early 1980s half of Zambia's population lived in towns. The urban population has grown by more than 3 per cent per annum and children below the age of 15 now comprised almost half of the country's total population. The educational system expanded rapidly in the immediate wake of independence and more children, particularly girls went to school than ever before. Fetter's observation that by 1980s half of Zambia's population was living in towns appeared slightly exaggerated, and on the contrary recent estimates arising from 1990 census indicating that the current estimate for the urban population is of the order of 43 per cent, have also fallen short of the 1993 figure of 50 per cent. The rural-urban migration and the interaction of high fertility and low mortality give rise to an increasing urban population. These factors also give rise to an expanded labour force and a high dependency ratio some of the consequences of rapid urbanisation and a high rate of rural-urban migration are the shortage of housing and the problem of providing adequate social amenities, including

education and health.

The performance of the economy has almost been stagnating and although strenuous efforts have since been made to rescue it through the structural adjustment programme now in place and with assistance of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and various donors, the problem of unemployment has been compounded by the large number of school leavers who look for employment in urban areas only to find that jobs are simply not available.

According to the monthly Digest of Statistics of January 1991 issued by the Central Statistical Office (CSO), the per capita gross Domestic Product (GDP) at constant 1977 prices was K313 in 1984 but has been declining since then so that in 1986 it was K296. Increasing slightly to K298 in 1988, after which it fell again to K285 and K279 in 1989 and 1990, respectively.

Child labour in Zambia, which is not a new phenomenon as there have been various forms of child labour even in pre-colonial settings (see Chapter IV) can be viewed from the above background setting. Although the causes are more or less the same as in other developing countries, there are some aspects that are different and thus of interest in examining the incidence and causes of child labour generally.

In an unpublished paper presented to the African Regional Tripartite Workshop on measures to combat child labour held in Cairo from 10th to 14th of September, 1989, Eston S. Mwape observed that factors such as adult unemployment, large, closely-spaced and extended families, irregular increase and

family instability play an important role in pushing young persons into the labour force and that child labour in Zambia occurs in two categories:

- a. Unenumerated family labour which is generally regarded as facilitating the development of skills among the young persons and provides parents especially mothers, with assistance in domestic chores.
- b. The other form of child labour exists in the form of paid labour outside family circles which gives opportunity to children to earn a living and help to support themselves and their families, but this type of labour conflicts with the demands and needs of childhood resulting in the abandonment of child and assumption of a proto-adult status at a very tender age.

This categorisation and analysis is similar to the situation described in Chapter III in connection with other developing countries such as India, Kenya and Brazil. As in those countries, there are other urban and rural forms of child labour in Zambia as well as child labour in the formal and informal sectors in Zambia. In fact there is also the sexual division of child labour. The facts that propel young persons into the labour force in Zambia have again been broadly summarised by Mwape in his paper of 1989 as being:

- i. When parents of such young persons cannot keep up with the financial demands of schooling.
- ii. When parents of such young persons are unable to provide for their basic assistance. To the above must be added.
- iii. When pupils participate in production units activities in

educational institutions as part of their training. However, the writer does not agree with Mwape's third point above. Production units in schools were introduced to extend socialisation in practical subjects. There is no evidence that this introduction brought with it hazards and long hours associated with child labour. On the contrary, production units re-introduced training in domestic needs and the means to introduce the dignity of labour to the young Zambians. This kind of education had mistakenly been discontinued with in 1960s as being primitive and unbecoming to educated people. In the colonial days of the 1930s as in the 1980s, children were able to assist their parents with ploughing and gardening because of the training the children had at school. Fetter (1990) refers to it:

Some of the children contributed to strained household budgets, for the cost of living for Africans had risen 100 per cent between 1939 and 1946, far surpassing wage increase.

B. Supportive Youth Institutions

i. Production Units, (ii) Rural Reconstruction Centres and (iii) Education Reform

Before the achievement of independence, during the rule of Zambia by Britain, 1924 to 1964, schools were established in all provinces initially at Primary School level, and later Secondary education was added at Lusaka for boys and Chipembi in Kabwe Rural for girls. Manual work was part of the

syllabus. Students were taught the dignity of work by using their hands in the field. At independence in 1964, this practice was discontinued with in favour of academic education. A decade later, it was decided to re-introduce manual work to socialise the children into basic skills and the dignity of manual labour, later in Chapter VII we discuss Government's decision to go back to the land to restore dignity and employment to children who have left school in rural reconstruction centres.

President Kenneth Kaunda, visiting one of the rural Provinces in Zambia, the North-Western Province, declared on the 20th July 1975 that children in schools had to learn the dignity of manual labour by producing part of the food they ate at school through production units at every school. With effect from that year, school children grew their own vegetables and went into poultry farming. These production units as they were called became part of the school syllabus. Consequently, the dignity of labour was restored in school.

i) The Production Units

President Kaunda's Solwezi declaration on the formation of Production Units in Zambian schools is described as:

Not merely as a concern for the development of certain skills for employment purposes,..... it associates the student with the vital activity of the community, and at the same time it abolishes the dividing line which artificially separates study from manual work.

It could also be a means of contributing towards the productivity. (Educational Reform Document 1977, p.29).

The whole concept of education was to be enriched by the introduction of a balance between productive work, study and recreation. The student was to be able to derive satisfaction from productive work so that his productive skills, intellectual, moral, physical and spiritual aspects of his development were properly harmonised. The combination of the students' theoretical knowledge and intellectual skills provided a necessary life combination of essential components in a mature human being. Production work reveals a sense of personal achievement and self reliance. The students develop leadership qualities in learning and working together. It is necessary that students learn in their formative stages the value of using their hands. They make a physical contribution to the welfare of society and to recognise and work for the common good. Students had to learn that working with hands is as important and desirable as working with the brain.

In carrying out this programme of work in schools, it was emphasised that four factors were necessary namely:

- a. Each student should be engaged in learning and production, however, the age, condition and health of the student should be taken into account in determining the type of production in which he should be engaged.
- b. Production work should be so arranged as to emphasise educational and social aspects.
- c. The range or type of production may vary according

to the nature and circumstances of the particular educational institution.

- d. The type of production could be related to the vocational training already being offered in the programmes.

School authorities were given instructions that although the institution of Production Units in educational institutions were not to be used for exploiting students for economic purposes, it could and should, nevertheless, play an important role in generating and enhancing the spirit and practice of self-reliance or self-help. Students were to use their labour to feed themselves as well as to grow enough food to sale the surplus in order to get funds for the improvement of their educational facilities and even for the expansion of those facilities through self-help. Production Units developed and expanded in crop and animal production, carpentry, brick-laying, mechanics, fruit growing and poultry. But initiative was left with Production Unit Committees comprising of students, leaders and members of Parents' Associations to decide on projects in which to operate. As a result some Production Units have proved to be very useful, either as a service to the community or as producers of needed commodities. Any member of the local community with special skills could enrol as a member of the Production Unit Committee.

- ii. Rural Reconstruction Centres as an apprenticeship Institution

Under advocacy in Chapter VII I shall deal with Rural Reconstruction Centres in detail to show the importance the Zambian Government attached to them as a cure to the problem of the youth and as an alternative employment exercise to revolutionise rural areas. Under the National Service, the Government in the late 1970's established Rural Reconstruction Centres so that in addition to the expansion of the education system at both the Primary and Secondary School levels, the Rural Reconstruction Centres would cater for the "Drop-outs" and other out-of-school children to continue with some kind of skills training on production activities. These Centres were established in all the nine Provinces of Zambia. The skills taught in these centres are mainly agricultural and related activities including carpentry and bricklaying, as well as arrangements for welfare and recreational facilities and initiation of co-operatives of various types, which would enable the settlers to have direct relationship with their production by pursuing incentive and profit motives for their co-operatives. The settlers are of mixed ages from 13 to 24 years. This pseudo-apprenticeship training, reminiscent of the work of the Sale de Encontro and to some extent, the Catholic Salesian Centre in Brazil discussed in Chapter III, and like most apprenticeship schemes raises speculation of concealment of child labour even if the intentions of Government in establishing them were good and noble, namely, to provide training in specific and employable

skills that could lead to earn a living.

Only two of these centres have survived desertions by inmates and plunder from outside. These are Kambilombilo in Ndola Rural and Kanakantapa in Lusaka Rural. These have been beefed up by foreign aid from donor countries. They serve as tourist attractions rather than what they were originally intended to be. None of the original nine centres harbours any children of political leaders or government employees. Since their establishment, they have been looked upon as experimental villages for the young people who could not make the grade educationally and even socially. Government expenditure on the centres does not justify their continued existence. They are referred to by normal villagers as "toy-villages" for young people with no old and wise men.

More on RRC's in Chapter VII.

iii) The Educational Reform

At independence, in 1964, the new Government decided that compulsory education should be introduced at primary level in order to make up for the inadequacies in the field of education that the country had experienced during 70 years of colonial rule. This was an expensive and ambitious decision. The Government during the ensuing years tried to meet this target but was only able to achieve the following success:

- a. Only about 85 per cent of the eligible age group had the opportunity to be enrolled in Grade I.
- b. Only about 62 per cent of the eligible group (those completing Grade 4) entered Grade 5.

- c. . Only 12 per cent of the eligible group (went higher to Grade 8 (Ed. Reform. Doc. 1977 p 14) completing Primary Education or Grade 7) entered Grade 8 (or generally referred to as Form I). (Education Reform Document 1977, p.14).

It can be seen from the above figures how the good intentions of the Government were being frustrated by lack of funds and therefore facilities for educational expansion. School places became fewer and fewer in urban areas. School drop-outs increased as a consequence. Thus increasing the market for child labour. According to the same Reform Document, the level of school provision registered as follows:

- a. About four out of every five children of Primary School age were actually enrolled in Grades 1 to 7.
- b. Many children who were old enough to enter Grade I did not have the opportunity to enrol because there were not enough places. The shortage of lower Primary School places was greater in urban areas than in rural areas, and in some towns the shortage was so severe that one third of the children could not go to school. This was so because the urban child population had increased faster than new classrooms had been built. Another reason was that many parents enrolled their children when they were younger than the minimum entry age of seven years due to lack of birth certificates and unreliable affidavits. This partly contributed to preventing

many children of the correct age from being enrolled.

- c. All children enrolled at Grade I in urban schools had the opportunity to complete seven years of schooling, a substantial number of children in rural schools did not have the same chance due to insufficient school places.
- d. The chances for a child to continue school became very remote after Grade 7, because there was an insufficient number of Grade 8 (Form I) places in the system. The Grade 7 enrolment had been increasing much faster than the number of new places in Grade 8. More than four out of every five Grade 7 pupils could not proceed to Grade 8 because of insufficient places in the country.

(Education Reform Document 1977, p.13).

The above imbalances in the educational system inter-alia prompted the Government to introduce Educational Reforms to ensure that the passage from Grade I to 9 was assured and availed to every child. This arrangement coupled with the introduction of Production Units offered incentives for children to stay longer in school until they attained the age of 15 years and above when they were old enough to seek employment in the formal sector. In 1977, the Education Reforms were introduced in all schools. The idea was for schools and institutions of learning to introduce employable skills through practical training. The Education Reform Document emphasises that

the combination of study and production in a Zambian society has as its main purpose the interests of the child's own proper upbringing and that the opportunity should not be used for exploiting students for economic purposes even though their production activities may result in.....incidental economic gains.

Further, as already pointed out, there was to be a proper balance between productive work, study and recreation, taking into account the age and physical conditions of individuals. It was also felt the knowledge and skills so gained could be useful even long after the pupils have left school. (Education Reform 1977, p.43)

Production Units skill exist today with varying degrees of success. The Educational Reform Document indicated that various reports so far received for the year 1975/76 agricultural season have indicated that there was a good record of performance. Production was also undertaken by primary schools and it included cotton, sunflower, tobacco, blackboard dusters and school uniforms (Education Reform 1977). The document also observes that high fertility and declining mortality rate in the nation has meant that the available schools especially in urban areas, cannot absorb the large number of children wishing to enrol due to the limited number of places. The high rate of growth of the pre-school and school-going age groups in the population requires that the number of school places must almost double every 19 years or so just to maintain the same proportion of children in

school.

The ultimate goal should be to provide nine years of universal basic education whereby, a child entering Grade I at the age of seven years will remain in school for at least nine years until the end of Grade 9 at the age of sixteen. (Education Reform Document 1977)

Although total implementation of this policy has been problematic due to the shortage of school places and other resources, it can be seen that were this policy fully implementable, it would be one of the most effective ways of combating child labour as children would remain in school longer. However, as the Education Reform Document states:

The chances for a child to continue school become very remote after Grade 7 because there is an insufficient number of Grade 8 places in the system. The Grade 7 enrolment has been increasing much faster than the number of new places in Grade 8.

The Education Reform Document further recognises and states that:

In every respect, therefore the task of providing nine years of basic education to all children is immense.

While the Government policy of the attainment of nine years basic education is clear and explicit, poor implementation could with resources constraints have made it virtually impossible to make the required number of

school places. In addition, there are voluntary and non-governmental organisations that provide skills training to school leavers. There are also projects and programmes of the Ministry of General Education. Implementation of nine years basic education has therefore had to be done on the basis of a phased approach whereby the first stage is to provide nine years of basic education to every child. The constraining factors are the shortage of places at Grade 8 level and the inadequacy of other resources such as financial and human resources. Thus in this case, increasing the enrolment and length of schooling as means of ultimately combating child labour.

In the Education Reform Document (1977 p.53) it is stated:

The Department of Technical Education and Vocational Training cannot offer a place to every school leaver who may need it as its capacity, even with further expansion, will continue to be limited in comparison to the large number of Grades 9 and 12 who need crafts training but who are not at present admitted to the Department's Institutions. The shortage of places in the Department's Institutions is despite the fact that there are 13 Trades Training Institutions, and two Technical Colleges, ten Teacher Training Colleges of which two are Secondary Teacher Training Colleges and one Technical Teacher Training College. Most of these institutions were established

during the post-independence era i.e. after 1964, a period of massive education expansion in Zambia.

The Annual Report for the Department of Labour for the year 1977 also emphasises the problem of school leavers when it states that:

The high flow of school leavers into the labour market tends to influence the employment situation. Even though this is a known factor which keeps recurring yearly it must be kept in mind that the difficulties in finding employment for school leavers are increasing as the labour market in general continues to be influenced by recession tendencies. In tackling this problem, however, the Party and Government have embarked on the rural reconstruction programme which should give employment to fairly large number of youths.

Thus the establishment of Rural Reconstruction Centres in addition to the rapid expansion of the education system..... in the 1970s was intended to solve the school leavers problem of unemployment by providing an alternative to formal academic schooling, to absorb the large number of school leavers off-loaded on to the labour market each year. It was envisaged that the programme would provide complementary training and continue with the socialisation of the youngsters begun in school while importing usable skills and engaging in production units activities. The legitimization of child work in this case is assured by the relevant legislation

and the fact that this is some form of apprenticeship scheme on a large scale involving a variety of skills, mainly agricultural, as already mentioned. This is confirmed by observation of Rodgers and Standing (1981 p.19) that:

In many low income economies, schooling can be seen to have two functions, that of socialisation and indicating a commitment to stable wage labour and that of providing the nucleus of labour market skills.

It should also be pointed out that despite the determined efforts of Rural Reconstruction Centres Administrators, the centres faced desertions, outside interferences and break-ins and thefts. They experienced a great deal of frustrations and lack of co-operation from the trainees. Further, the problem of the critical shortage of school places as one of the underlying causes of child labour in Zambia, apart from the more direct causes, poverty and unemployment, is graphically underscored by the Fourth National Development Plan (FNDP) Document which states that:

The Nation has not been able to adequately cater for the educational needs of its rising youth population, especially at Grades 8 and 10 levels. The resultant effect has been that every year approximately 160,000 youths leave the education system prematurely at a time when they are unable to fend for themselves because of their tender age

and inexperience in terms of vocational skills for the economy.

The plan continues to observe that:

As indicated above the Plan Document produced during the period under review (1980-88) did not exclusively outline the objectives for the child and consequently there were no definite programmes formulated or implemented. This further worsened the situation whereby the child who was out of school due to the shortage of school places and various other reasons was in most cases left unguided in his or her development to become a useful citizen. (Development Plan 1989-1993 vols. 1-11) Government Printer, 1989, p.476.

During this period therefore efforts began earlier, to establish facilities where out-of-school youths could go, were intensified. Thus the skills Training Production Centres were to be established during the Third National Development Plan period to cater for 2,500 youths annually in various productive skills such as plumbing, agriculture, carpentry, tailoring and auto mechanics of which those at Chiyota (Lusaka Rural), Zgongari Kachinge (in Lundazi) Manyinga (Kabompo) districts are examples. As already alluded to community based youth skills, training projects were also established by District Councils, Government Departments, N.G.O.'s and voluntary organisations. These were of course in addition to the Rural Reconstruction Resettlement Schemes already

mentioned.

It should be emphasised that despite budgetary constraints, of all the social services, education was always allocated higher expenditures, except in 1988 when health was allocated more as shown below. The problem has always been the rapid growth rate of the population in comparison to the growth of the economy.

Central Government Expenditure (K'000)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Health</u>	<u>Education</u>
1980	65,420	120,377
1984	94,008	110,869
1988	648,074	474,539
1990	1,110,085	2,274,239

1990 Totals up to September

Source: Central Statistical Office

In 1983, inspections revealed that a large number of small factories run on 'family' basis had opened in the back streets of major towns. However, the occupiers or entrepreneurs involved changed from time to time making it difficult for inspectors to maintain proper records. The 1983 Annual Report of the Department of Labour stated that 365 inspections were carried out on these back street factories but:

The inspections were once again low due to lack of transport and funds for travelling on duty. This was further worsened by the shortage of staff, a problem which caused concern over the last two years. (Government Printer 1990 p.170)

C. Forms of Child Labour obtaining in Zambia

In dealing with this section, it may be advisable to recall first those forms or types of child labour outlined by Rodgers and Standing (1981 p.1112) which were discussed in Chapter II. We shall then see which of the listed ones apply to the Zambian situation. The List:

1. Domestic work
2. Non-domestic, Non-monetary
3. Urban household production
4. Field or bonded labour
5. Wage labour
6. Marginal economic activities
7. Schooling
8. Idleness and unemployment
9. Recreation and leisure
10. Reproductive activities

Types applicable to Zambia in detail as promised in Chapter II

1. Domestic work

In the process of socialisation, the Zambian child is fully involved in domestic work such as sweeping, cleaning, cooking and serving food and baby-caring. Baby-caring can start as early as five and applies to both sexes.

2. Non-domestic, non-monetary

In the inevitable process of socialisation the Zambian male child's work outside the home involves hunting, herding cattle, gathering firewood,

protecting crops in the field. The female child works on herding cattle, protecting crops like her male counterpart, but in addition draws water from the river or well, gathers mushroom and wild fruit for consumption. The child, both in urban or rural environment begins to see the need to support his parents by contributing an income to the family, hence he starts to share his time on non-monetary activities and on income generating activities. At this stage, let us look at Doctor Mushota's experience in Zambia, whose study on domestic workers of the age group under discussion includes rates of pay and character similar to my study. While Dr. Mushota's study is of a general character as explained fully in Chapter VII, on this particular occasion he is dealing with child labour.

Doctor Mushota, a University of Zambia lecturer, was commissioned by Oxfam, Catholic Secretariat and 'Pick-a-Lot'/State Lottery, in 1987 to undertake a study on child abuse in Zambia. More on Dr. Mushota's study appears in Chapter VII on evaluation of his work compared to my research. In this chapter I merely refer to aspects of pay. During the course of this study, Mushota discovered that child labour in homes is prevalent. Children are used as servants in homes. They are known as helpers. The practice is common in low density,

high density and medium density areas of urban Zambia. In short, all working Zambians try to employ children to do their domestic work while they are at work themselves.

In Zambia, townships are divided into categories called simply densities. These are the names given to townships signifying economic standing of the residents. Low density area is normally an area of very big houses formerly occupied by European Officers before independence. High density area is where most clerical staff of the Government and ordinary officers of corporations abide. It is the township of mixed public workers. Medium density is that area that is rated to be between the two extremes. It houses the promising middle class. In short, Mushota is saying all classes of Zambian society who are employed are tempted to have a "helper".— Notice the word "helper" is a psychological cover-up for the migrant child whom we discussed in Chapter II who has been brought to an urban area for purposes of work. The new employer, unlike the past colonial civil servant before independence who used to call a servant 'a servant' the new class of employer, the African, wants to disguise self-guilt and his exploitation of an ethnic person by calling her a "helper".

Mushota selected a total of 90 households, 30 from each of the three areas, high, medium and low

density in population. One hundred and twelve (112) domestic servants were interviewed. According to the study, those who needed domestic servants tended to prefer relatives, where available. Non relatives tended to prefer young boys and girls aged between the ages of 13 and 17 years and were reluctant to recruit older males or females above the age of 17 years (Mushota, 1987 p.161). One of the reasons for preferring young people was that children were not expected to demand high wages. For example in 1987, these young people were paid between K40 and K60 per month with free food and accommodation.

Adult servants preferred personal privacy in addition to higher wages. This point confirms employers preference for young children.

Non-domestic and non-monetary child work is prevalent in subsistence economies such as rural areas where children do farm work, gather wood, herd livestock and protect crops from birds and animals. In Eastern, Western, Southern and Central Provinces of Zambia which are agricultural and pastoral, this type of child work is very prevalent. Other provinces, by virtue of their being town or urban areas, provide the child with many construction works and artisan type skills. Both children and kin complement each other in the passing on of skills such as carpentry, plumbing,

building, tailoring, shoe repairing and tin work. Added to this list is stone breaking which has become very popular in Lusaka.

It is from this stage of experience that children gradually turn on to produce for money so that they can help with meagre family incomes. Those who are rurally-based choose to herd cattle for a farmer who at the end of a given period can offer the child one or two animals (a cow and a bull) for this child to set himself up. Alternatively, the child may choose to work for money with which to support himself and his parents. In urban areas, like Lusaka, the child alone or with his mother may work on stone breaking for construction purposes and individual household use. On this type of job demand is rising. In the beginning only adult women worked to crush stones. Today, children have also become heavily involved. They can be seen along Lusaka Kafue road. Most children crush chipstone as part of the family production units. Others work on their own. Mushota found that by 1987, there were over 100 children working on this job. It was more lucrative than domestic work. Children fetched as much as K60 to K150 per day (Mushota 1987).

It is noticeable that such work is done without any protective clothing or goggles to protect their eyes with. Official monitoring of the industry is

not there as the work is in the informal sector. The stone is dislodged and gathered from the surface or from a small excavation with a pick and mattock and then broken up by hammer without any quarrying experience on the part of the workers. The stone is of sedimentary or limestone nature and is therefore easy to break as opposed to granite found in some other areas.

3. Marginal Economic Activities, include short term and irregular activities, although the children practising them may do so on long term basis (Rodgers and Standing, 1981 p.8) as is experienced in Zambia by street vendors, newspaper sellers, shoe shiners and Mishanga sellers those who sell single cigarettes, some children illegally sell semi-precious stones on the road side. Thefts, gambling and prostitution are also prevalent in Zambian towns. As these activities are in the informal sector in the main, police are only able to prosecute those involved in criminal cases like theft when found out and reported to authorities. According to Mushota, some shoe shiners and mishanga sellers are agents of middle class workers who get between K500 to K800 per month but pay the boys only as much as K40 per month. In many instances such children sell on the premises of their employers who may be shop owners. Today, such children are hunted down by police. So this

type of trade is done in a mobile manner, that is the vendor moves from one corner of the street to another over a period.

Street begging: Begging has become a common feature in the major towns of Lusaka, Ndola and Kitwe. There are two categories of children involved in street begging. The first category consists of those children who are directly employed by their parents, most of whom are handicapped, to lead them along crowded streets to beg for them or expose them to beg for themselves. This category of beggars is expanding despite protests from the Ministry of Social Services that such people are their responsibility and money is annually voted for their welfare. The second category is that of children who beg for themselves in the absence of their parents. This group includes some school children who beg for lunch money and for transport money. The age of this age group of beggars is becoming increasingly younger and younger. It is not possible to give an accurate number of such beggars in Lusaka City, but my estimate is that over lunch hour the number rises to about 100 begging children. These children do not look mal-nourished, on the contrary they look healthy and run from street to street and by so doing they are a cause of traffic hazards when drivers try to avoid them.

The Ministry of Social Services has appealed to people to ignore these children.

The illegal selling of precious stones and semi-precious stones to motorists and other travellers is also a common activity in which children like adults are involved in those areas where such stones are found. The Zambian Sunday Times of July, 21 1991 carried a photograph of three children selling amethysts to motorists on the road to Siavonga in the Lusitu area of Gwembe Valley to raise money for their school fees. Two of the children were aged 10 years; the third child was aged 18 years. The weekly paper reported that amethyst stones were going for K50 to K100 each on that road. The same children were also selling crocodile skins probably stolen from a crocodile farm in the area.

At Nyimba, on the road to Chipata in the Eastern Province, children independently or in concert with adults are reported to sell emeralds and other semi-precious stones to motorists. Police have been alerted on a number of times but arrests have not been reported. The children know that possession of and selling precious stones without an appropriate licence is not permitted by law. They run into the bush if they suspect the presence of a policeman or a Government Officer from the Mines Department.

Guarding parked cars for shoppers is a common practice by children in Zambian towns. Children whose ages range from 7 to 12 years ask motorists if they could guard their cars while they go away. I, the writer, told one child that I feared the thief could take both him and my car so the exercise was futile. I did not leave until I saw a policeman. The child ran away. I was lucky because refusing their advances drives them to deflate car tyres when you have gone. I have had personal experiences of beggars and car guards all the time I drive in Lusaka.

Street vending along streets is common in Zambian towns. Women and children are the vendors in vegetables, fruit, baskets, curios and sweets. The Ministry of Local Government and Housing has recently introduced a law to tax vendors. The Daily Papers: Times of Zambia and Zambia Daily Mail in March 1992 ran articles with photographs of protesting women and children who thought their business was threatened. The Government put its foot down and mounted teams of inspectors to arrest any offenders. By July 1992, substantial revenue was made from this source but vendors still try to avoid the tax man from the Government. But selling on shop verandahs and busy streets has come to an end. There is more information on this subject when I deal with Case Histories.

4. Wage Labour for Zambian children is an active occupation in two ways:

i. those who work as part of a family labour force

ii. those who work as individual wage earners.

Caldwell (1973), has drawn our attention to work with contractors which children are committed to as apprentices and yet turn out to be fake so that the proprietors benefit from cheap labour. We have already examined the contribution of children who work as part of the family. In Zambia this class of children experiences difficulties in extracting their contribution of money from the parents. Normally, the employer pays the head of the family for the work done by the whole family. This is common in weeding and marketing jobs and in work connected with repair of houses. A carpenter may work side by side with his son but he keeps the whole pay. It is this experience which has encouraged many Zambian children to go it alone. They would rather join a gang of strange people to do a piece rate job to ensure that at the end of the day, they are paid by the contractor or by the head of the gang their share of the price.

Children who work on their own are also driven to this practice by family disagreements. The child may be happy with his mother as the head of the family, but the moment she remarries, the step-

father tries to exert his authority over the family, the boy decides to go it alone. I have dealt with many such cases in the Chapter on Case Histories.

What perhaps we can discuss here is the demise of apprenticeship training in formal or recognised institutions of Government where children could be encouraged to go and obtain skills that will help them in adulthood. Before independence mission centres had under their roof facilities and personnel to train Zambian children in simple trades on an apprenticeship basis. In time apprenticeship constituted an important aspect of training and an entry into the copper mining industry. Whereas apprenticeship for village crafts such as basketry, spear, axe and hoe making, carving and repairing fishing nets presented no difficulty as they were done in the setting of the village in rural areas, industrial apprentice was taught with immense difficulties. Firstly, it was necessary to be able to follow, absorb and imbibe the artisan skills, culture, discipline and practices of industrial enterprises and shortage of school places did not permit for Africans this minimum level of attainment. Discriminatory practices at that time did not permit African boys, let alone girls who had also a cultural barrier, to join their European counterparts to prepare for

these skills together.

Notwithstanding this situation, however, a small number of African boys did have a chance to acquire technical education through missionary establishments that ran such training to assist in their work by building and maintaining buildings, schools and hospitals. Rudiments of motor mechanics, electricity, carpentry, building and plumbing were taught.

In the early days, Mission schools had attached to them workshops in which some trades or crafts were taught, mainly for the purpose of servicing school expansion or for maintenance programmes. Later Government, following the example of Mission schools, established carpentry and bricklaying trades as part of training in some educational institutions. However, in 1962 and thereafter, most trades schools were closed (Educational Reform. Government Printer 1977, p.49).

With the adoption of the Saunders Report, 1967, and the passing of the Technical Education Act 1972, formal apprenticeship training in a few areas was resurrected. Technical Education and Vocational Training was now to concentrate on full-time pre-employment training in technical colleges and Trades Training Institutes that were then furnished with modern equipment materials and staff to give in-depth theoretical training properly integrated

with practical programmes. (Educational Reform 1977 p.49).

Among the reasons for the abolition of the Apprenticeship scheme was the fact that it was too slow to produce the technical manpower Zambia needed as only a few could be enrolled at each existing centre. In any case, Zambia needed a new approach with a curriculum that would be in accordance with the aspirations of the nation and the development problems being encountered. Thus apprenticeship as a form of child labour was replaced by full-time technical training in technical educational institutions.

Another institution that claims many children whose labour leads them to institutes of mental correction is the Department of Social Welfare, the Annual Report of the Department for the year 1981 states that there were 646 juvenile cases during that year. The Report states inter alia:

The picture is very similar to most other developing countries and would tend to indicate that poverty is a major contributing factor (Annual Report 1981 p.10).

In terms of the Juvenile Act (Cap. 217 of the Laws of Zambia) the Commissioner of Juvenile Welfare is entrusted with committal orders from the Courts. The Act provides for custody and protection of juveniles in need of care and correction. In this

regard in 1973:

There were sixty-three juveniles committed orders brought forward from 1972 and seven new orders were made, making a total of seventy orders in force during the year. Of this number, fourteen orders were revoked due to changed circumstances, eight expired when the committed children attained the age of sixteen and one committed child passed away in the University Teaching Hospital in Lusaka.

The Report points out that custodial care for juvenile offenders is a pre-requisite to rehabilitation at Nakambala and Katombora Reformatories. The juveniles are provided with academic education as well as trades training in agriculture, woodwork and metalwork. On recovering they are re-admitted into society.

5. Schooling

This is an important category which involves the whole question of educational provision. However, in considering educational provision, enrollments and attendance are of more significance and relevance in the analysis and determination of the extent and nature of socialisation. Enrolment is a function of the number of school places available, while attendance is related to the ability of the child to benefit from educational provision and to proximity or accessibility of school facilities. The introduction of production units,

educational reform and rural development centres by the Government was a positive way of maximising socialisation, a positive method of training and preparing the child for adulthood roles. Without these additional institutions, the country would lose many able children who failed to find school places to the streets. This continuation of schooling in the new institutions also provided the physical and mental development of the child, an essential investment whose returns were deferred to a later date.

Boyd (1987 p.176) has used the notion of schooling to justify child labour per se:

Taking energy invested and intellectual benefit acquired as criteria, one could consider full-time schooling as intimately more abnormal than working in the fields or playing in the roads as vendor. Thus, what is abnormal is not child labour as an abstract notion but rather the concrete conditions of exploitation which accompany profit - extraction from juvenile manpower.

He has a point in that what distinguishes child work from child labour is the absence of hazards, long hours of work, dangers to health, lack of leisure and absence from parents and bonding characterised in child labour, (Fyfe 1989 p.14); (Blanchard, 1983 p.18); (Rodgers and Standing 1981 pp.2-11). But, if Boyd is implying that schooling is a form of child labour then the assumption becomes debatable. First, as I have just said, schooling unlike

child labour has no hazards and the other negative aspects referred to above. More importantly, schooling falls in the class of formal sector with rules and institutionalized subject to inspections. Child labour on the other hand falls more in the informal sector and avoids institutionalisation as it were. Schooling should therefore fall under the category of socialisation.

During independence period (i.e. 1964 to 1992), recruitment to educational institutions provided by educational reforms increased massively especially at primary level. According to the Fourth National Development Plan (FNDP 1989-1993 p.54) during the 1980-88 period, primary school pupils of 7 to 14 years age group constituted 22 per cent while the economically active group comprised 47.6 per cent of the population, that is also very young, as already stated, will continue to impose great economic burdens on families thereby affecting the extent, nature and role of child labour in the Zambian situation. Thus child labour continues and will continue to play an important role alongside women's labour with which it is closely associated particularly in the informal sector.

These problems are exacerbated by the youthful nature of the Zambian population. The persistently high fertility rate and the declining mortality rate have led to the extreme youthful nature of the population which has consequences on the educational provision particularly with the high growth rate on the population of 3.7 per

cent, resulting in the 7-14 years age group constituting 22 per cent of the population for most of whom educational provision is not available. The unlucky children of whom there is a greater number are off-loaded on the labour market, in both urban and rural areas but are unable to find jobs, causing them to engage in child labour in the informal sector of the economy. The variety of activities in which some of them are engaged could be legal or illegal and may include such activities as theft. In addition it can be stated that not all child labour is of a negative nature and that it is not therefore the concept of child labour as such that should be attacked, but the hazardous, prolonged physical and social physiological and mental conditions under which children may work that need to be addressed. It is, to repeat, the long hours in hard and dangerous industrial premises, which need condemning. It is the separation from parents - at an early age on migrant work that need to be condemned. It is not the work as such. It is the bonding and the exploitation experienced that needs to be exposed.

In winding up this section, I would like to emphasise the explosive nature of the ever increasing population of the youth as seen by two prominent Zambians. First, Kalapula an agronomist has made these remarks:

About two-thirds of Zambia's population consists of young people aged twenty four years and under. Forty-eight percent (48%) of the population is

under 15 years. Many live in rural areas, they are illiterate, lack skills and are under-employed. Those who migrate to urban areas fail to get paid formal jobs. Many end up in squatter settlements and survive on informal activities such as selling cigarettes (Mishanga boys). Others resort to criminal activities. (Kwaku-Osei Hwedie and Munu Ndulo, 1989 p.54)

Former Prime Minister of Zambia Musokotwane looking back to the time when he was Minister of Youth and Sports in 1969, warned the Zambian nation at a youth conference:-

I do not want to alarm the nation, but it is my duty to warn that youth explosion is imminent unless urgent measures are taken to mobilise resources to cope with the situation while there is time. For example, from 1969 to 1977 there were 700,000 primary school leavers who were not selected for Grade 8. Since 1977, in only two years' time another 200,000 will be added to the roll of unemployed youth bringing the total to 900,000 by December 1979. To this figure we must yet add those unfortunate youths who either have not entered the school system or are aborted by the system before reaching Grade 7. For planning purposes, this is our target group. (Kwaku-Osei Hwedie and Munu Ndulo, 1989 p.54).

D. Effectiveness of the Laws

In Chapter I, I tabled the laws that Zambia has passed in

relation to labour, to working children and working women. In this Chapter, I also touched on the law affecting delinquent children. I think it is now appropriate to discuss the effectiveness of these laws on child labour in Zambia. Despite the enactment of progressive legislation and the ratification of ILO Conventions, it does not appear that there has been a lasting impact such that child labour is either eliminated or regulated so as to ensure that terms and conditions under which children may work could be morally, economically and socially acceptable in all cases of such work. To this end it has already been noted that the ILO Convention of 1919, which set a minimum age of hiring labour at 14 years was ratified. This Convention put an end to forced labour, but it was limited in scope as it confined itself to industry. The 1973 (No.138) Convention was aimed at a radical abolition of child labour and recommended a minimum age of 15 years cases where compulsory education ended below that age. This Convention which was aimed at industrial and agricultural plantations in the developing countries was also ratified by Zambia.

With regard to legislation, it has been seen that adequate provisions have existed for a long time. As already mentioned above 1929 the Employment of Natives Ordinance had been enacted but was repealed and replaced by the Employment Act (Cap.512) to provide for the protection of employees. This Act provides that no

person except under conditions to be prescribed, shall employ or cause to be employed any person under the age of 15 years. The only exemptions to this one are those that may be made by the Minister on approving the nature, conditions and terms of employment. The exceptions relate to persons under the age of 15 who are receiving full-time education and to persons under the age of 15 who have failed to secure admission to a suitable school or whose enrolment has been cancelled or terminated by the school authorities or for a good cause, by the parents. In any case, these conditions complement the provisions of the Education Act (Cap.234) which provide for a school leaving age of 16 years.

The Employment of Women, Young Persons and children's Act (Cap.505) enacted in 1933, was revised in 1950 and again revised in 1972. When first enacted, the Act did not include provision to commercial or agricultural undertakings. Specifically the Act provides that no persons shall employ young persons under the age of 16 in an industrial undertaking other than an undertaking where members of the same family are employed unless such persons are under contract of apprenticeship entered into under the Apprenticeship Act and signed by the Labour Officer in pursuance of the same. This later provision however has fallen away as apprenticeship was abolished in 1970's in preference to direct technical college training with industrial breaks provided for practical experience. The Act further provides that no persons

shall be employed under the age of 16 except in an undertaking in which members of the same family are employed. The provisions of Act 505 do not however, apply to work done by children in technical schools or similar institutions provided that such work is approved by the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education or by some persons appointed by him.

The Juvenile Act (Cap.217) was enacted to provide for custody and protection of juveniles in need of care and to provide for the correction of juvenile delinquents including any other matters related to or incidental to the foregoing and it applied in such areas as the Minister may order or declare.

It is a condition that in applying the provisions, African Customary Law is to be observed unless it is not in the interest of the juveniles. Approved schools fall under this Act and Section 91 of the subsidiary legislation provides that for pupils in such schools to be employed on such duties as the principal may determine from time to time subject to their need, for education, instruction, recreation and leisure. As stated earlier the children may even be taught such trades as carpentry, metal work, and plumbing although this does not apply to children under 12 years of age who should be put on light work.

Another provision under this Act worthy mention is Section (47) which prohibits any person to encourage a girl under the age of 16 to have carnal knowledge, engage

in prostitution, seduction or to commit indecent assault. Although the provisions of this Act may seem to revolve round the question of welfare of children rather than concern themselves with child labour per se, in that the underlying assumption is that juveniles require care and protection from falling into bad association and exposure to moral, physical and other dangers beyond their control, the situation and conditions they seek to control are replicated and are in fact the same as those concerned with or from which exploitative and repressive child labour arises. For instance, they seek to provide care and protection in situations where juveniles are found to be:

- a) destitute
- b) wandering without any settled place of abode
- c) without useable means of subsistence
- d) begging or receiving alms whether or not singing, playing, performing or offering anything for sale
- e) loitering for the purposes of begging or receiving and
- f) if any of the scheduled offences are committed against them (such as being forced into soliciting prostitution, having carnal knowledge, or being seduced).

These factors are also intricately associated with the common situation of child labour, begging, offering things for sale and theft, are obvious

examples. Further, the general social economic conditions under which such a situation may be envisaged involve poverty, unemployment of parents, deprivation, lack of housing, overcrowdedness, insufficient social amenities such as inadequate number of school places in comparison to the phenomenal and rapid growth of the school-going age population, shortage of investment to create new jobs and other opportunities. Yet, this Act and indeed the Acts referred to above and the ILO Conventions so far adopted and ratified, do not seem to make an impact on the general situation as can be seen by the increase in the children of the street.

Delinquency, theft, street begging have so far increased phenomenally as to render the welfare efforts of the Department of Labour and the educational provision, despite massive expansion, infinitesimal in comparison to the problem now at hand. The Juvenile Act was passed when child destitution or begging were exceptions rather than the rule of the day, before the rapid increase in population and rapid urbanisation had achieved their peaks; and before the growth of the per capita GDP registered stagnation or even negative growth rates that accompanied economic decline. This suggests that eradication of child labour involves a whole series of policy actions involving

revision of several pieces of legislation and social action measures to take into account the new parameters assumed by the magnitude of the problem of child labour. Above all, it requires economic resources and progressive political action and dedicated and competent manpower, that is conscientised to the problem of eradication of the negative aspects of child labour in Zambia in all its various forms and categories discussed in this Chapter.

So far we have discussed only three Zambian laws that affect the child particularly on the subject of employment namely: Acts 505, 512 and 217, respectively. What other laws are relevant to the child's welfare one might ask? There are many more, for instance:

- a. The Marriage Act, Chapter 211 of the Laws of Zambia - Zambian Customary Law - under this law child marriage¹ is permissible and is easily contracted in cases of girls or boys who have attained the age of puberty and in some cases have gone through some initiation ceremony often on payment of a dowry to the parents of the girl.
- b. The Adoption Act, Chapter 218 of the Laws of Zambia was enacted in 1957, it has some of its principal aims of protecting the interests of and promotion of the well-being of the Zambian

child. The Act provides for the making and registration of adoption orders.

- c. The Apprenticeship Act, Chapter 511 of the Laws of Zambia. Under this Act, children under 21 years can only be employed in a trade or industry as apprentices with the consent of parents or guardians.
- d. The Liquor Licensing Act, Chapter 429 of the Laws of Zambia prohibits the employment in bars or other places where liquor is sold or consumed children under the age of eighteen years. It equally prohibits the sale of intoxicating liquor to children under fourteen years old. Such children may not even be allowed to buy liquor.
- e. The Dangerous Drug Act, Chapter 549 of the Laws of Zambia prohibits the holding, importation, purchase or consumption of dangerous drugs such as dagga and narcotic substances by all persons particularly minors.
- f. The Education (Primary and Secondary Schools) Act, provides for the establishment and operation of a national Council of Education and its subsidiaries for the promotion and control of schools and teaching of physical education.
- g. The Handicapped Persons Act, Chapter 551 of the Laws of Zambia, provides for an

institutional framework of handicapped persons to special care, education and training. Under the Act, all handicapped children are entitled to education.

- h. The Public Health Act provides for the:
 - 1. Reduction of infant mortality through malnutrition and disease
 - 2. Improvement of nutrition to vulnerable groups
 - 3. Initiation of studies on hygiene and nutrition.
- i. The Day Nurseries Act, Chapter 541.
- j. The Guardianship of Minors Act 1971.

The list is long. There are still more laws that are relevant to children's welfare, but the point is why are these laws affecting the child independent Acts of Parliament? Could they not be collated under one heading? Professor Shimba, Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Zambia in an unpublished document on the Laws of Zambia (1991 p.33) has called for the need to put together all Zambian laws affecting children on the lines of the former Soviet Union or Ghana who have collated them and formed a National Commission on children. For ease of reference and action, I strongly support Shimba's suggestion as under the present arrangement the situation is unsatisfactory regarding implementation of Government decisions on

children, let alone enforcement of laws affecting children. There is need to have a code on all laws on children's welfare. Shimba (1991 p.34) has called for the establishment of a Zambian National Commission on the promotion of the rights and welfare of children, and on the codification of the laws relating to children into a single document. Having undertaken this study on Zambian children, I support this view to sharpen research on Zambian children.

It would appear from the evidence above that there exists many and adequate laws to protect the Zambian child from the exploitation of child labour. The problem I see is the scattered nature of the placement of the laws. One has to look for them from different volumes and Acts. At the moment there is a lot of co-ordination and consultation required by different Ministries and departments of Government over issues which could best be handled under one wing of the Government.

E. CONCLUSION

From this Chapter, we have learned that the years following the independence of Zambia from Britain in 1964 to 1992 were generally characterised by massive movements of people from rural Zambia to urban Zambia in search of employment, schooling and city life. This movement was exacerbated by the removal of provincial border restrictions which had been imposed by the former

colonial Government to restrict the movement of Africans to urban areas. The rate of rural to urban movement was 6.7 per cent per annum. This movement deprived rural areas of able manpower so agricultural development was neglected. While in the urban areas the surge of people in search of jobs and schooling activities overpowered planning authorities to the extent that even the increased rate of building schools could not cope with the demands. Similarly, jobs could not be found for the growing numbers of new urban dwellers. Apart from the rural-urban migration movement, improved health facilities and better conditions of living had resulted in a 3.7 per cent per annum population growth for Zambia. As has been revealed by 1990, Zambia's population had become more youthful with 49 per cent under the age of 15 years.

In the absence of rapid industrialisation owing to fluctuations of copper prices and due to unprecedented growth in urban population, Zambia developed an informal sector of work which was fast absorbing the youth of the nation. Laws protecting children from labour could no longer be effective as their implementation in the informal sector was not feasible. Another problem with our laws on children as we have seen was their being spread out under different Government Ministries. There was a call in this Chapter for codification of all laws affecting children.

The Chapter examined types of child labour activities as

defined by Rodgers and Standing(1991); Silva (1981); Fyfe (1989) and Bequele and Boyden (1988). These were discussed in the Zambian context, from a number of perspectives with regard to the labour market and prevailing modes of production associated with each category.

Under this Chapter, we also examined the efforts of the Government to reduce child labour by introducing supplementary institutions such as the Production Units at schools, the Rural Reconstruction Centres, the Education Reforms and Trade Schools to occupy children in their formative stages of growth.

In short, the Chapter gives and analyses causes of child labour in Zambia, efforts of the Government and people to combat the problem and finally the effect on the Zambian society particularly the youth. Examples of child labour per se are given in the next chapter which is devoted to interviews with children and outstanding people.

CHAPTER VI

FIELD WORK

- A. INTRODUCTION
- B. QUESTIONNAIRE
- C. TABLES
- D. EXTRACTS FROM INTERVIEWS
- E. OUTSTANDING PERSONALITIES ON CHILD
LABOUR
- F. CONCLUSION

CHAPTER VI**A. INTRODUCTION**

Over a period of three years from 1989 the writer has been encouraged by distinguished enthusiasts on the subject of Child Labour in Zambia to work together and watch the activities of child workers both in towns and rural areas of Zambia with a view of interviewing some to learn at first hand the histories of these children and the way they settled into their present occupations. Finally, the moment came and this chapter comprises personal interviews with some of the most daring children of this decade in the developing world.

In deciding to interview these children I had decided to avoid situations which should cause anxiety on their behalf and situations in which their way of life would be disturbed. As a matter of fact, I had been to their premises and places of work where possible a few times, apparently as a possible customer or interested member of the public. Where and when they were shy or for some reason not ready to speak I took my time or invited others who were not workers to say something. Sometimes it was the other way round I would get everybody wanting to speak about their problems and activities to do so.

In some instances children spoke in the presence of their parents or guardians with whom they worked in the presence of their friends and relatives at work. Since interviewing such children I have kept in touch with them to follow up their progress. I have seen some prosper and others remain at the

same level for some years. Those working on their own as vendors or artisans such as mending tyres and repairing things have improved over time to have a bigger shelter and an assistant or assistants. Sometimes they have changed trades say from selling single cigarettes to polishing shoes or doing both. I have been surprised by the standard of perseverance, commitment and alertness they have demonstrated. Their ability to offer customers the right money-change and to persuade them to come to their stands appears very advanced. With the help of citizens who have shown great interest in combating the problem of child labour I was able to pick up busy spots in the city of Lusaka, on the Copperbelt of Zambia and in one rural area of Zambia, Mwinilunga. The Copperbelt is the industrial hub of Zambia which I often frequent and it is on the way to Mwinilunga.

I decided that the ages of eight to fifteen years should be my target because under normal circumstances, children of this age should be at school so if they are not and in particular if they are found working there should be some reason. My experience was that I had occasions to speak to children on border lines that is those younger than ten and older than fifteen because of their connections with my respondents. Those picked were not any particular children, but those I was convinced were on stands for work rather than customers or just wanderers. I did not systematically control for gender. Boys and girls with or without some basic education were

adequately my targets.

For the purpose of this exercise, I cannot reproduce all the interviews as they would be needing a lot of space. However, I have reported enough to represent the type of trades, attitudes and opinions of the children in Zambia. By coincidence I find from those recorded by ILO and UNICEF in other countries of some developing world that occupations are very similar and even identical in some cases despite distances that divide these countries. The age group is also the same.

I have made some tables for comparative purposes and for ease of reference. In most cases these tables reflect answers to the questions I asked the children and not necessarily what they themselves offered at first hand in their statements. The sample comprise two hundred respondents, 130 being boys and 70 being girls. The material was collected over the period 1990 to 1991. Indeed the process of interviews will continue indefinitely as this is an ongoing exercise over the next coming years because I find the search for solutions into child labour an endless task; a task that students of sociology should not drop interest in its pursuit.

Respondents very much wanted to give a full story of their parents, brothers and sisters and sometimes even about their teachers. I have tried to give that background where possible. It might be necessary when follow up work is initiated. For example, the writer could ask a respondent in

a year from now.

"By the way, how is your father now?

Has he stopped drinking or smoking?"

The respondent will feel good to know he and his family are still remembered.

On the whole, the exercise was very interesting. The respondents were relaxed and confident. The children showed great interest in what they were doing, I did not experience fear or resistance from them.

The questionnaire follows this introduction.

B. A QUESTIONNAIRE ON CHILD LABOUR IN ZAMBIA

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. How many children are you in your family - boys/girls?
4. Are all the children from the same mother/father?
5. What number are you in the family? Are you the first born, second or third?
6. Are both of your parents alive?
7. Do you live with both your parents in this town?
8. Do you live with one parent and a step-parent?
9. Who is the step-parent?
10. Are your parents both working?
11. If only one is working, which one?
12. Do you have any working brothers/sisters?
13. Where do you live? Name the township.
14. What religion do you worship?
15. Do you find time to worship?
16. How many people comprise your household?
17. Do you go home for lunch?
18. How many meals do you have per day?
19. Whose business/job are you engaged in?

20. Do you get a monthly salary?
21. Is it your family business?
22. Is it your own business?
23. Do you have a bank account?
24. Who introduced you to this job?
25. Do you enjoy working?
26. Do you enjoy good health?
27. Were you born in town? Which town?
28. How did you come to town?
29. When did you come to town?
30. Are you at school? Which one?
31. When did you leave school? In what class?
32. Who paid/pays your fees?
33. How do you get to work? By bicycle, lifts, bus...?
34. Do you have any skills?
35. Where did you train?
36. What is your monthly income?
37. What do you spend on food, clothing, transport,
other?
38. Do you give entire pay to your parents?
39. Do you give any portion to your parents?
40. Do you smoke?
41. Do you drink?
42. Do you spend money on smoking and or drinking?
43. Do you pay rent for this stand/shop?
44. Do you run away when Police appear?

45. Do you fear Police?
46. Do you feel Police are there to protect you?
47. Have you ever been picked up by Police?
48. Do you support your brothers/sisters at school?
49. Do you steal?
50. Do you beg?
51. What time do you start work?
52. What time do you go home?
53. Do you stay with your employers?
54. Do you pay for your food or accommodation?
55. Are you harassed by your employers or any family member?
56. Who buys your food?
57. Is your work seasonal?
58. Do you work on contract?
59. Do you have partners in this work?
60. If so how many and how did you get them?
61. Do you work at night?
62. Does your father work?
63. Does your mother work?
64. Do you love your parents?
65. Do you quarrel with your parents?
66. What is your ambition in life?
67. Do you wash cars?
68. Do you mind cars?
69. Do you sell vegetables/fruits?

70. Do you sell stationery?
71. Do you bake scones and sell them?
72. Do you run a poultry unit?
73. Are you a blacksmith?
74. Are you paid in kind?
75. Do you cut firewood for sale?
76. Do you break stones for building purposes?
77. Do you do domestic work?
78. Do you mend car tubes?
79. Do you repair bicycles?
80. Do you still find time to go to school?
81. Are you a cobbler?
82. Do you shoe-shine customers shoes?
83. Is this your first business?
84. What are your business plans?
85. Do you have time to rest?
86. Do you find people friendly or helpful?
87. Do you sleep well?
88. Do you still help with domestic work after knocking off?
89. Do you have any problems at home and at work?
90. How long have you been at this working point?

C. TABLE 1RURAL URBAN MIGRATION OF RESPONDENTS 1989-1992

Moved from Rural to Urban	Boys	Girls	Total
Yes	37%	11%	24%
No	63%	89%	76%
Total	100%	100%	100%

The general trend and common belief in the country is that the children migrate from rural areas to urban areas in search of school and employment or just to experience town life, particularly now that the economic situation of Zambia is in bad shape. From my experience of interviews over the period stated the movement figures do not tally with common belief. It is possible that over this very period and for people resident in areas of my interview migration rate was not in line with official conclusions. However, it is generally known that in Zambia girls of the age group of my study do not frequently travel. They are mainly in the environment they have experienced since childhood until puberty stage when traditional ceremonies take place.

TABLE 2**DURATION OF WORK IN PRESENT OCCUPATION**

Period of stay at work	Years	Boys	Girls	Total
1989-1992	3+	14%	8%	11%
1990-1992	2+	41%	38%	39.5%
1991-1992	1+	45%	54%	49.5%
Total		100%	100%	100%

My experience was that there is internal migration at work as well, very few boys and girls have been in the same employment for a continuous period of three to four years. Girls stay at work much longer particularly so at domestic work, like "House girl" or "helper with children". Many children who get taken on for various jobs use the jobs as a stepping stone for other jobs where they expect to get more money and security. Others go back to school or to their family business. Those who stay long sometimes develop their own business like artisans and vendors. They even become employers themselves in the same trades.

TABLE 3**PLACE OF RESIDENCE DURING PERIOD OF EMPLOYMENT**

	Boys	Girls	Total
At home with parents/guardians	86%	85%	85.5%
At places of work	5%	14%	9.5%
No definite place	9%	1%	5%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Most children go back home after a hard day's work. They claim to go to bed very early because they arrive tired and hungry, but they rise very early to help with cleaning up the home base before taking long walks to their places of work. Buses and taxis are too much of a luxury to them. Sometimes they chance "lifts".- These are cheap unregistered taxis where if necessary the passenger is used to push when the car stops suddenly. For this reason drivers are in the habit of including a few extra boys for such work.

Most girls who do domestic work are housed at their places of work, but the majority prefer to stay with parents or guardians for fear of being turned into prostitutes at an early age or to ensure that in the evening and very early in the morning they help their parents with work of cleaning up and washing.

TABLE 4

REMUNERATION FROM WORK PER MONTH

Income per month	Boys	Girls	Total
K'0 - K1,000	0	1%	0.5%
K1,000 - K5,000	20%	42%	31%
K5,000 - more	43%	27%	35%
Not disclosed	37%	30%	33.5%
Total	100%	100%	100%

By mid July, 1992 the Kwacha had been devalued to the extent

that its exchange value at the official rate was US \$1 to K200. The unofficial exchange rate was even more biting as the saying goes in Zambia. It was anything from K250 to K300 per US \$1. Under the circumstances, the rates of pay even at the unofficial market had risen in Kwacha terms. Even children involved in tyre mending and touting were used to expect at least K50 per car, in 1991, now expect a minimum of K100. The introduction of K100 and K500 notes on the market has psychologically brought very low value on bank notes of less value. This is confirmed by the cost of fruits and vegetables at markets and from vendors a kilogram of vegetables that was going at K50 in 1991 is retailing at K100 in 1992 if it is in season, otherwise more.

TABLE 5**LEVEL OF EDUCATION AMONGST**

Level of formal Education	Boys	Girls	Total
Not attended school at all	4%	20%	12%
Grade 1 - Grade VII	61%	62%	61.5%
Grade VIII - Grade XII	35%	18%	26.5%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Today the level of education found in the informal sector is much higher than it was at Independence in 1964. This is because the first African Government gave priority to social services which had not been ably covered in the days of

colonial rule. The field of education was more than favoured. Primary education was made compulsory in Zambia in the first decade of Independence. As a result, many children who work are school 'dropouts' and school leavers. But there are a good number of working children who have not been to school. This is more on the side of girls and more in rural than urban Zambia.

TABLE 6

TYPE OF OCCUPATION INVOLVING CHILDREN IN EMPLOYMENT OF ADULTS

Types of work	Boys	Girls	Total
Domestic (cooking, laundry etc)	15%	40%	27.5%
Street vending	20%	30%	25%
Artisans (carpentry/plumbing)	40%	6%	23%
Touting	10%	4%	7%
Others	15%	20%	17.5%
Total	100%	100%	100%

There are areas such as carpet weaving that are not available in Zambia. But girls are now finding their way into small factories which deal with sewing, ironing and tailoring. Most of these industries are registered and subject to inspections. Normally, authorities take on school leavers with Grades VIII and XII Certificates. Most of these girls are above the age range which is under our review. But it is not uncommon to find some younger girls who have been sneaked in by relatives

and by other arrangements other than official routes.

In Zambia, domestic work is very much sought after by girls.

TABLE 7

WORKING CHILDREN STILL GOING TO SCHOOL

Working and attending school	Boys	Girls	Total
Yes	15%	13%	14%
No	85%	87%	86%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Children I interviewed confessed having problems to work and attend school satisfactorily at the same time. There was a question of distance from their places of work and schools near their homes where they could be registered. Some had bitter memories of school because of the manner they left, some had failed; some were dismissed for absence, others were victims of "cut off" points at Grade VII and IX levels. Though basically bright, due to non-availability of places they could not be taken on for higher classes. Those who were still attending school boasted of paying their own fees or helping to buy books, stationery and uniform. There were very few girls who were working and attending school. Those who did, thanked their employers for encouragement and support. Case excerpts may suggest higher figures but those with some proof of actually attending school such as exercise books, reading materials were not easy to come by.

TABLE 8JOBS IN WHICH CHILDREN ARE SELF EMPLOYED

	Boys	Girls
Some children have	Car washing	Domestic
established themselves	Car mending	Selling cookies
at markets and road	Shoe polishing	Cooking at
junctions, and are	selling	markets
active in items	newspapers	
on their own	Vending	
Small scale and	Mending punctures	
as agents of adults	Touting	
in some fields	Stone breaking	Stone breaking
	Selling sweets	
	Selling	
	cigarettes	
	Selling semi-	
	precious stones	

This table is of a general nature given by the department of labour as to where they think children generally choose to work on their own. Indeed these areas harbour children.

Some Zambian children are working as agents for rich adults or companies. Their pay is a monthly or weekly commission on whatever they realise. These children are involved in big

merchandise in the items shown above. They are subject to regular inspections by their employers or their nominees. They are very vulnerable to being dismissed on the spot and with no benefits or appeal for justice. Girls doing domestic roles tend to be considered as part of the family and children they look after deepen this feeling. So they last longer. There are children who treasure their independence, so they work on their own and for themselves. These children start as agents of adults. Some are financed by their parents who may not want to be seen personally in those dealings and may be busy themselves elsewhere making money. Both categories of work are unlicensed and unregistered efforts in the informal sector to raise funds. Except for those in domestic roles, children working in the above roles normally work day time.

TABLE 9EXPENDITURE OF INCOME

	Boys	Girls	Total
On clothes	40%	60%	50%
On drinks	2%	0%	1%
On smoking	2%	0%	1%
On food	50%	30%	40%
On other things	5%	10%	8%
Total	100%	100%	100%

From the above information, children working seem to spend

more on their clothes than is reported to be spent on parents to assist in their survival. It is difficult to extract true information from children on their expenditure. Smoking and drinking is not very pronounced in this age group.

TABLE 10

RELATION WITH POLICE

	Boys	Girls	Total
Fear	40%	40%	40%
Protection	60%	60%	60%
Total	100%	100%	100%

I had expected a higher degree of fear of police than is revealed by these results because police normally try to demolish improvised business stands. Children run for safety with their merchandise when police carry out area inspections.

TABLE 11

RELATIONS WITH PARENTS

	Boys	Girls	Total
Love and respect	90%	96%	93%
Fear	10%	4%	7%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Some children in broken marriages have had very harsh things to say about their parents, particularly their fathers and step-parents generally. Apparently on the whole, they love

and respect their parents.

TABLE 12

WORK AT NIGHT

	Boys	Girls	Total
Domestic	5%	20%	12.5%
Restaurant	20%	6%	13%
Other	75%	74%	74.5%
Total	100%	100%	100%

In Zambia, not many venues are open for jobs at night in which children can get involved. Home work, such as baby-sitting attracts mostly girls. Restaurants do attract both sexes of children and many remain open up to midnight. Parents are more protective of girls than boys in as far as child work is concerned. Most working girls are in family business and domestic work. It is not easy to determine actual numbers involved as many children involved in night work cannot be easily reached.

TABLE 13RESIDING WITH WHOM AT HOME

	Boys	Girls	Total
Both parents	35%	55%	45%
Mother and man	20%	20%	20%
Father and woman	20%	5%	12.5%
Mother alone	10%	10%	10%
Father alone	5%	2%	3.5%
Relatives	7%	3%	5%
Places of work	3%	5%	4%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Most children on the whole prefer and do stay with parents as far as possible. Where there are broken marriages, children still find shelter with step-parents and improvised homes. Because of the high cost of living in towns, extended families are on the decline. There was no evidence of street children living alone but at workshops or places of work. Zambian towns follow strictly a colonial heritage of complete division between business centres and residential areas. The former areas are heavily patrolled by police at night. By a strict system of night watchmen trespassers risk being shot on sight. African residential areas are limited to "compounds" and townships at places beyond walking distances at night. Of the

respondents working in townships only a few were living with employers or at places of work.

TABLE 14
SECTOR OF WORK

	Boys	Girls	Total
Formal	2%	6%	4%
Informal	98%	94%	96%
Total	100%	100%	100%

In my interviews and discussions with children and parents respectively, it was abundantly clear that the informal sector harboured most of the child workers.

TABLE 15
SEX OF RESPONDENT

	Boys	Girls	Total
Respondent	65%	35%	100%

Apparently, Zambia is still a "Man's" world. Most of the workers of all ages are of the male sex group. This practice was very noticeable even in my research. Girls are not very daring in finding child work away from the family. The majority of working girls of the age group under my research had connections with family business such as baking, cooking, hair plaiting, fruit and vegetable vending. In recent years

girls have been seen working as petrol attendants and workshop mechanics. These were once exclusive jobs for men. The girls found in these jobs now are post secondary school leavers of about twenty years and above; not in my study group.

D. EXTRACTS FROM INTERVIEWS

I now turn to extracts of actual interviews. Reproducing the interviews in full would require a complete volume on its own. For the sake of space, even the extracts are very brief but I consider them necessary to give an idea of what was said and the sincerity with which the respondents put up their cases. Both urban and rural children were most co-operative. Full texts of interviews are in the Department of Sociology with my Supervisor.

1. URBAN CHILDREN

CASE 1

"My name is J. I am 14 years old. I live in Chimwemwe township, Kitwe, Copperbelt. I am the eldest of 6 children of a widowed mother, who runs a market stall from which she gets very little money to maintain the home and pay rent for the house and the stall. She has also to pay for electricity and water.

I have just learnt that I have not qualified for Grade 10. So I have decided to stop schooling and assist my mother in running the family. I have therefore taken up a casual job of car minding in the City of Kitwe. This job entails watching cars for those who are shopping or attending business in the

City so that on their return they pay me some money. There is a lot of competition from other boys. We have divided the street."

This practice is common in Zambian towns where car thefts are common. Children who mind cars earn a handsome commission. At the end of the day they may mind up to 20 cars. The child negotiates a good reward for himself from each and every owner. Cinema nights are more lucrative than ordinary evenings. J. worked from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. and up to 10 p.m. on Cinema Days.

CASE 2

J. and M. are girls of 12 and 8 years respectively both daughters of a middle class miner in Kitwe and living in formerly European residential area. Both children go to school, J. in the morning and M. in the afternoon. When they are not at school, they help to sell buns and scones baked by their mother, to assist with the family budget.

J. said, "I like school and I do get good marks, but I like to help my mother sell buns and scones every afternoon after school. She in turn gives me pocket money."

M. said, "When my sister is at school in the morning, I help sell buns and scones at the entrance of our courtyard. I feel tired at school, but what can I do, I have to help my mother."

CASE 3

K. aged 13 years dropped out of school on hearing of the Gulf War from people and from the Times of Zambia. K's father who

sold beer at a local tavern was always drunk in the evenings together with his wife.

K. said, "The news of the Gulf War frightened many of us at school. Our teacher thought we might not be able to survive as a nation because we bought our petrol from the Gulf. I decided to work as a car washer, at the main bus station near Kamitondo township. I wash up to 10 cars a day. I earn enough to support my mother with food money. I keep some for myself for cinema and clothes. I don't like school any longer. I ended in Grade 6."

CASE 4

Ju. aged 14 years of Riverside Kitwe, left school in Grade 11, one year before obtaining her school certificate. She was at Fatima, near Ndola, a school of outstanding reputation. She now runs a boutique and is a pride of her family.

Ju. said, "My father works for the Mines. My mother is a dressmaker. My two brothers and one sister are all at school and doing well. During my holidays I used to work for my mother's employer in her boutique. I decided to leave school to start my own boutique. My parents were heartbroken but I didn't like school any more. The attitude of some school employees towards girls was very discouraging. So I quit. My father rented a room in the main shopping area and advanced me with some money. My mother now works for me. My aim is to be a model."

CASE 5

Bet.'s father is a miner in Wusakile, Kitwe. Her mother is a baker and poultry farmer. Bet. is in Grade 5 at Wusakile Primary School. She is 10 years old.

Bet. said, "My father is a miner, but his salary is very little. My mother bakes bread, scones and fritters for sale. She has a family poultry stand. She sells eggs and old layers. From her income she has managed to send my three elder brothers to boarding schools. I help my mother by taking a basket of fritters, scones and buns to school every morning to sell at break time. I bring back all the money.

After school hours are spend with her baking. Sometimes I do not do my homework and my teacher gets very cross. What can I do, my father drinks too much. My mother is our sole supporter. I have two years before I enter boarding school."

CASE 6

Kap., 12 years old deserted school and drunken parents to join his childhood friend Mwe. At the latter's home in Kwacha, Kitwe, the two boys became agents of the two Zambian Dailies: Times of Zambia and Daily Mail. They both retired from school.

Kap. - "I got fed up with my parents quarrelling every day. I ran away from home in Mindolo to stay with my childhood friend Mwe. in Kwacha. He also left school. We got employed to sell newspapers, every morning. the commission we received we bought packets of cigarettes. We now spend our time

selling cigarettes by the road side. Our parents are friends. They are aware of what we are doing. They have not insisted on our going back to school."

Mwe. - "Soon we shall make enough money to rent our own accommodation. We are not complaining, we are doing quite well."

CASE 7

Sombo. - "I am 13 years old and doing grade 7 at Ndeke Primary School in Kitwe. My father works for Blackwood Hodge. My mother died when I was 7 years. My step-mother has one child with my father. I have my own sister who was 5 years when mother died. I do well at school but get there very tired because my step-mother takes me to the tavern to sell cooked offals and boiled eggs to those who are drinking. sometimes, she sends me alone to join other women selling food to tavern patrons. I get back home very tired. At home I do all the domestic work like washing up and cleaning the place. My step-mother uses me as a servant with no regard for my schooling."

CASE 8

Kan. and Kato. are brothers of 14 and 12 years of age at school at Mukuba Secondary and Mindolo Primary Schools, respectively.

Kan. - "Our parents love us and they make us work hard. They have a poultry unit in their backyard with 3,000 birds. When we return from school we spend most of our leisure and

homework time in the backyard attending to the chickens. Even at midnight we have to wake up to check on the chickens. We give them food, water and keep the braziers on the whole night for chickens to keep warm."

CASE 9

Jon., 13 years old of Itimpi, Kitwe left school at Grade 7 to take up a job as a milkman. He got attracted to the job after watching a video tape of milkman in Australia.

Jon. - "The job of a milkman is very exciting though demanding. I make 'good money' selling milk and milk products for my firm. I work long hours, but my boss says if I continue to do well, he will make me a shareholder in future."

CASE 10

George. - "I was at Main Primary School, Kitwe, until last year when I turned 14 years. I became a learner mechanic, a job I have always wanted. I take after my father's profession. Every day we are working with my father until late. In his private garage we work on old motor vehicles. I still have contacts with my school, but my main interest is now this job."

George's father insisted that his son was still at school and attends regularly, but when he comes home after classes, he joins him with full enthusiasm. The family gets a good income from the repair of vehicles belonging to friends and neighbours. George's fees are not a problem.

CASE 11

Kacha. - "I don't know my age. I was in Grade 6 at Matero Primary School, in Kabundi, Chingola. My father lost his Mine job. Both he and my mother took to drinking distilled beer (Kachasu) they called 'Kill me Quick'. My mother brews it for sale; but every day they join in drinking. there is no food at the house, at times. I left school and joined Ma.. and Bonj.. formerly of my school. We are about the same age. When we hear there is cooking oil, or any essential supplies, we spend the whole day queuing for it. The first lot we buy for some women in the queue. They pay us. With the money we queue to buy for ourselves and sell outside the shop for more money. This goes on the whole day. Those who don't want to stay long buy from us at even twice the price right outside the shop. So we end up with a lot of money. We go all over the town.

These boys were roughly of the age of 13 to 15 years. They took advantage of shortages in the country typical of 1980's in Zambia.

CASE 12

Chombi - "My friends and I control this Bus Station. We jump on a bus as it comes in. We occupy 6 seats. Our leader remains outside asking for people who want to go on the bus. They pay him K20 each, he comes up replacing each of us with the people. We go on doing that every day. We are known by bus drivers, but they dare not shout at us. We help them

too."

Chombi.. refused to give his real name and the names of others including their leader. They were around 14 to 15 years. The seventh was a man over 25 years well dressed but a bully. He refused to talk to me. Chombi.. who spoke my language was free with me. He said, "our leader thinks you are a plain clothes policeman." The men and women we assisted to get places especially on long distance buses felt good, not knowing that those being dropped were not passengers at all.

CASE 13

Name - "My mother has worked hard to teach me the skill. I plait 10 to 14 heads a day using different styles that you see in those pictures. We charge different prices. I left school two years ago. I was in grade 9. I am now 15 and very happy."

This was at Chiwempala in Chingola. I was speaking to a girl and her mother outside a hair salon. Just there and then, Nakao another girl appeared on the scene."

"This is my other daughter. She is at Chiwempala School in Grade 9. She is here all the time when she is off, to help raise money. Their father divorced me many years ago, but I have managed alone."

Nakao confirmed that after school she helps in plaiting at the hair salon.

CASE 14

Kaso, Bwal, Kakoma, Mutin, pupils at Kabundi Primary School

aged about 14 years in grade 6, collect and sell empty beer bottles every weekend. They have problems entering taverns to get the bottles, because they are not permitted by law so they promise a man a beer or two if he can do the transaction for them. Collection of bottles is easy, they say because drunken people throw them all over as a sign of being rich and not minding deposits on the empties.

CASE 15

Bup. is a caddie at Nkana Golf Course in Kitwe. He doesn't know his age. He is in grade 9 at Chamboli School. He was in the company of three other boys all caddies.

"My father doesn't mind me doing this. I do it after school hours. I have been doing this for Mr. G.. for three years. I share my money with my mother. My father is a shopkeeper. My mother is a stenographer. We have a good modern house in Ndeke Township and a secondhand BMW car. We don't starve. We have a lot of dependants at home and visitors."

CASE 16

Kaso - "I am 15 years I think. I have been polishing and cleaning shoes in the veranda of the shop for the last four years. I come very early as people go for work between 7.30 and 8 a.m. many pass here to complete their smartness by arriving at their places of work with clean shoes. I make a lot of money at month ends. These boys are in my company. they also see to it that there is no other "shoe-shine boy" in the vicinity. Isn't that so, guys?" His boys confirm. "When

there is no money coming, we help taximen get customers."

Kaso operates at Mwaiseni Shop in Chiwempala. His brother and sister, like him deserted their home some two years ago. Their father holds a position in a religious sect. He is hardly at home. He has no knowledge of the mother's whereabouts.

CASE 17

At Chisokone Market in Kitwe, I discovered a group of five youths engaged in offloading bundles of dried fish from lorries coming from Luapula Province. I moved near, and asked what was going on. The youths were about 14 years.

Mwen. "My friends and I off load bundles of fish for payment by the driver and we in turn recommend which we think is good fish to women marketeers who wait for the fish's arrival. We think we can tell from the smell and lack of maggots. Of course we charge them a fee for that. We have been doing this for two years. We left school to make money. Our parents are miners, we don't eat anything till evening. We have to be here at 5 a.m. when fish trucks arrive. Even when it is raining. I passed grade 4. Sometimes we spend the whole day and no fish trucks. Yes, we stay with our parents. They don't worry about our absence from home. We don't fight."

CASE 18

Nosi - "I attend school at Masala Secondary School in grade 8. I live with my parents who are Seventh Day Adventist Church goers. Before and after school, I am on this counter till

late."

Nosi takes charge of the till in her parents shop at Masala Shopping Centre at 13 years she looks confident and appears to attend to customers ably with a smile. She hopes to stay on this job after her Secondary School. She misses friends and fun.

CASE 19

Mwen. - "My father lost his job with the Ndola City Council two years ago. I have a sister at Mindolo Girls School. She hopes to go to Kwame Nkrumah Teacher Training College in Kabwe next year. My mother and I work for her and our home. We cook Nshima (mash) and meat or fish for sell to Council workers at lunch time. We can feed up to 50 people from that pot." She pointed at an improvised pot, a half 44 gallon petrol drum. Mwen. was not able to tell her age but she looked 13 to 14. She left school some three years before this occasion. She looked well. There were some 10 to 15 girls of her age in this open "feeding place" near Chifubu market. This is a common feature in most towns, women cook local food for sale to workers at lunch time. The exercise draws a lot of unmarried girls with their parents or guardians.

CASE 20

Mike is the nickname of a boy I was told was an orphan whom I spotted at a market place with his grandmother selling CHIKANDA, a traditional African sausage-like delicacy from the Northern Province. I thought he was doing a traditionally

girl's work selling food at a market. Both parents died young. Mike was brought up by his grandmother who made him to sell at markets. He is about 15 years.

"I like my job, but my ambition is to be a bus conductor."

CASE 21

Two boys of roughly 15 years worked under the shadow of an umbrella-shaped tree on Ben Bella Road.

"We mend tyres and tubes of cars. We fix punctures. We are sent to buy spares and stores. We fetch water in these tins from Van's Garage. Last time, they threatened to beat us. Our boss wants to teach us mechanics. It will take two years."

The place is recognisable by the presence of many old tyres. The boys would not give their names they would not say where they came from. They would not say how much they were paid. The boss was out 'on duty'. When it rained work came to a stop.

CASE 22

Dick and five other boys average age of 13 to 14 years work outside a Lusaka Laundry building, busy making wire coat hangers for sale to the laundry. No names were given of their sources of wire material.

Dick - "We buy wire and make these hangers. We are paid well by the Laundry Chief. We hope to make more for sale to other laundries next year."

CASE 23

Ben, 14 year old boy helps his father by selling paraffin in Kalingalinga township in Lusaka on a bicycle.

Ben - "My father buys paraffin from Shell Garage in a drum. I carry some in a four gallon tin on my bicycle, I go round homes. People stop me to buy the commodity in bottles. By the end of the day, I make a profit. When the garage dries up I starve at home.

CASE 24

Four boys aged 14 all drop-outs from grade 7, deliver bread to "Tearooms" in Chiwempala. One said "We get a commission of two loaves each per day. We are quite happy because we get tipped by those we deliver bread to."

I was informed that the boys usually helped themselves to bread at the source, by arrangement with others at the bakery for sale in transit. Previously many boys had been found stealing and subsequently fired.

CASE 25

Joe, another car minder - "This is a very risky job. Car thieves don't have any respect for us. We ask for more money, but car owners just brush us aside. I always keep a sharp knife to scare car thieves. I cannot share any job with others then the pay would be too little."

There are many car minders in town. When they see a motorist about to park, they compete for the job.

CASE 26

Benwell, 15 year old boy in Chiwempala says: "I work for Mr. - . He sends me to deliver canned beers from South Africa to his regular customers. I go with his driver to given addresses. They sign for what they receive. they don't give me any money. they say they pay direct to Master, I work in the evenings. During the day I go to school. Master pays my fees at school. He arranged with my father."

CASE 27

Alice, 13 years doing grade 8 at Hellen Kaunda School in Kitwe has well-to-do parents. Her father is a Manager of a paint distributing company. Her mother is a Secretary in the Mines. Alice - "I bake scones every evening for sale at school during break time. I make a lot of pocket money, but my homework suffers a lot I intend stopping this business."

CASE 28

Betty - "My mother sells charcoal to neighbours. I help her do so after school, I am at Kwacha School in grade 7. I want to stop in order to do my homework properly, but my mother insists on me helping her."

There were many cases of children who needed advice. The best I would do was to get them to talk to both parents seriously.

CASE 29

Mule., a 15 year old school boy doing grade 10 at Chamboli Secondary School has fallen in love with the world of

entertainment.

"I am a disco jockey (dj) at Bantu Disco in Kitwe. My school career is on the rocks. I am intending to quit school."

CASE 30

Bonf. is 15 years and a Newspaper Vendor.

"I sell both Times of Zambia and Daily Mail. I have to get up at 5 a.m. to get my papers and take up my position at Kansenshi Shopping Centre. By mid-day, all the papers are sold out. I take the money to the offices and get my commission. I go and wash and dress properly by 2 p.m. I am a Waiter at the Savoy Hotel till 8 p.m. This goes on every day even at weekends."

CASE 31

Winnie, 14 years, lives with her unmarried mother in Twapia, Ndola, she has learned to plait hair. She does this job the whole day, everyday of the week. She makes good money but is frustrated. She misses entertainment.

"I plait every style available. I am very fast. I do ten heads a day. But I miss life, I am with old people all the time."

CASE 32

Loiwe and Shipiwe, 14 and 12 years, respectively.

"We live with our parents. But work for Mrs..... a white lady who is very kind to us. We help her in her bookshop. She pays us well and even gives us lunch. Our parents are very happy."

CASE 33

John and Charles 14 and 15 sell books for a Christian organisation in Kabushi, Ndola. They go from door to door selling books.

"We enjoy our work. The pay could be better but we are happy. We have been working like this for 18 months. We met at school but both of us had to leave for lack of financial support."

CASE 34

Ruth is a "house girl" looking after children of an expatriate couple. She took up this work one year ago.

"They look after me well, I stay with them. I visit my parents regularly, I left school at Grade 9. I am 14 years. I live here in Riverside, Kitwe. My pay is good. I don't miss school."

CASE 35

Bwel. and Mule of Parklands, Kitwe are aged 15 years.

"We have a small business. We carry firewood, mealie meal and anything from the market and food from shops to people's houses for money. We use a wheelbarrow. We have been doing this for six months. We have competition. Many other boys are doing it. We get a lot of customers because we are cheap. We work from morning to evening. No lunch."

CASE 36

Wendy is 12 years old and attends school at Chimwemwe in Kitwe.

"My mother is divorced. My father lives in Zaire, his home. We are six children. My mother grows vegetables in our backyard. Everyday, I help sell the vegetables at the gate. Business is good. I am now in Grade 7. I will need more time to study when I am in Grade 8."

CASE 37

Gers., 15 years old is an orphan living with his aunt at Chingola. He has managed to reach Grade 10, but does not know whether he will complete school as he has to do all types of casual work after school in order to get money for uniforms, fees, school requirements and supplementary food. "My aunt starves me, but I want to go to University. I joined a gang of seven boys who harvest for a European farmer. He collects us from town centre every afternoon and brings us back after work on his farm." At harvest time many farmers hire young labourers in the same manner as described above.

CASE 38

Four boys of about 15 years are no longer in school. I found them selling sawdust to fishermen, to cover up the ice blocks that cover the fresh fish. Their leader Dickson said: "We got the idea from cinema. The sawdust covers ice blocks. At first the fishermen rejected the idea as dirty. We convinced them. Now we are in great demand. We pick up the sawdust from a carpentry shop on Solwezi Road. We only pay for transport. The carpenter is very understanding. We clean up his place at the same time. We pay little for the sawdust

transport because it is very light. Some boys have picked up the idea but we could not allow them to operate at this market in Chingola Main Market. We make several trips a week. No lunch and very late supper. Life is hard."

CASE 39

Michael, 15, has organised four of his friends of the same age. He is based at Kalulushi Market. There he and his friends pick up women who want to buy fruits, vegetables and chickens from neighbouring farms. Michael's father has invested his 5-ton lorry and a driver in this venture. Michael said:

"We go round the market asking women who want to go to Kamchanga, Lukushi, Boza and Mbangu farms to buy things for sale. We take them and spend most of the day buying. We return late and charge the women according to the number of parcels or items. We pick up passengers as well."

CASE 40

Kombe and Kasompe both 15 years old, residents of Kalulushi Township and school drop-outs:

"We tried to mind cars, but business was very slow here because there is not much traffic in this small town. We switched to washing cars. Again this business was not paying. We settled for buying metal sheets new and old from old and abandoned vehicles. We use these sheets to make buckets, braziers, cups and other blacksmith products. Now we are in business."

They have a stand at Kalulushi Market for which they pay very little to the Council. They have hired five smaller boys to assist with the work. All of them said they were happy but it was hard work from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. everyday, including errands to look for metals.

CASE 41

Benjamin, 11 and sister Phyllis 13 years of Kalulushi, collect and sell empty bottles of minerals.

Phyllis: "We attend school in the morning. In the afternoon we go collecting bottles thrown away or given away. We wash these. Mother sells them for us. Here at the market many people drink soft drinks and throw away the bottles."

CASE 42

Five boys aged between 13 and 15 had a stand at Kalulushi market. Selling sweets, cigarettes - Guards, Rothmans, Peter Stuyvesant, etc. They had bottles with liquids of different colours and had a shoeshine stool. When lorries came with merchandise, the boys became a gang of off-loaders.

Jacob: "The whole idea is to clean shoes and sell tobacco only when all is quiet."

CASE 43

Jennifer still attends school at Chavuma Primary School in Kalulushi but she and her mother do business as well.

"Every morning I bring to school some trays of eggs for sale to teachers as well as cooked eggs for sale to my fellow students at break. I carry salt and chillies in a small

bottle to apply to cooked eggs. I have been doing this for the last six months. In the afternoon I come to sell more eggs at Kalulushi market."

CASE 44

Pauline like Jennifer in Case 43 is a 12 year old girl who after school helps the mother to sell green maize (corn) at the market. In the morning she carries some for sale to fellow students at break. The mother buys the maize from a farm along Solwezi Road. She cooks it in a 44 gallon drum at night.

Pauline: "I help mother during harvest season. We sell whatever we can to get money. My father is a Miner. I have just qualified for Grade 8 at Mukinge Mission School in Kasempa. My mother will be lonely when I am gone."

CASE 45

Susan 12, lives in Kabundi East, in Chingola. She was selling mangoes at the gate of their house on an afternoon. As she did so, her eye was on her two younger sisters who were playing.

"I have to look after my sisters, as well because our mother has gone to fetch guavas, tomatoes and onions from the backyard for sale to passersby. I sell every day after school hours. I even wash my sisters and clothe them."

CASE 46

Kali, Ali, Salim, boys of 15 of Tanzanian parents resident in Kasompe, Chingola make money by selling plastic containers which they collect or buy cheaply from the township.

Kali: "We go round houses asking for any plastic containers formerly containing oil or juice. We get these free sometimes but often on a charge. We wash them and once a week take them to Refined Oil Products Limited in Ndola where we sell them. We work every day from morning to evening."

CASE 47

Chanda and Kosa 15, have a stand at Nchanga North Township in Chingola at which they sell second-hand clothes, wrist watches and plastic shoes.

Chanda: "We buy these goods from Zaire and we make over 100% profit on the items. Obtaining fresh supplies is very hard and very tricky. Anyway we are now one year in business."

CASE 48

Four boys about 14 years old, residents of Chingola have a stand at the main market. They sell essential commodities like cooking oil, soap, candles, salt and sugar, but also do something else.

Chomba the leader: "We obtain these when the shops have them. We hoard them until they are scarce. We sell them at a good price. We also keep slashers and sickles to trim hedges and clean surroundings on hire."

CASE 49

Joyce of Chingola learned how to babysit from her mother. She claims she is now such an expert. Her mother gets her business from working neighbours and Joyce does it. She is 12, and still attending school. Her mother is a domestic worker.

"Sometimes I miss school if I have a good offer to babysit during the day." Joyce

CASE 50

Five school boys of Mutenda Primary School in Chingola were authorised by their teacher to seek casual work so that they would get money for their school requirements. A European farmer took them on to harvest guavas and other fruits every

weekend. The boys preferred to be paid at the end of the harvest season. The accumulated payment pleased them and their teacher. Now they are on permanent hire by the farmer whenever the need arises he gets them. I met two at the market in town off-loading fruit for sale.

CASE 51

Another lot of four school leavers of Mutenda School in Chingola were employed by a farmer to cut sugar cane and load it onto lorries for transport to Chingola. They use machets and big knives. The cane is sold at the market.

"The work is very hard. We work even when it is raining. The dangers of cutting and getting it into the storage shed

involves cuts and pricks."

CASE 52

Kalumbu a girl of 12 years was sitting in for her mother selling cooked chicken at an open air market at Mutenda near Chingola. The place was full of sorghum, cassava, maize, beans and millet baskets for sale to market women from town. On the other side were baskets of rape, spinach, cabbage and potatoes. This is a central place for farmers to wholesale their products to town women. The farmers use their women workers to sell the stuff.

Kalumbu: "My mother and her friends take advantage of these sales to prepare lunch for sale to farm women and town marketeers. I come every day after school to relieve my mother. Each piece of cooked chicken is K20."

CASE 53

At the same improvised bush market of Mutenda, I spoke to a boy of 15 who had come to buy beans. Kayumba said:

"I came with my father to buy these four pockets of beans. He has gone back to Chingola by lifts. I am going to take these pockets on this scotch-cart. It will take me five hours. but I have done it over and over so I don't fear the distance.

CASE 54

Again at Mutenda, I spoke to two youths of 12 and 14 years. Kayombo and Kahilu were standing by charcoal bags. They stay with an uncle and help to cut trees and make charcoal.

Kahilu: "We cut down big trees whose logs we heap in one place

and cover with soil. We set the logs on fire until charcoal is formed. After some days, the charcoal cools and the process of marketing it begins. We buy old grain sacks in which we pack the charcoal for sale in town or to motorists who stop by. We stop by the road side for several hours before we can chance buyers."

CASE 55

At Mutenda I met some youths of between 14 and 15. They were seven of them and had come on a lorry to buy wood for a funeral fire. How I had wished they had come to buy charcoal so that Kahilu's waiting would end. Apparently for funerals firewood itself is used. Charcoal is only for cooking purposes. These boys were negotiating with someone who had firewood some two kilometres away. They had to go and pick it.

Dick their leader said: "We have hired this man's lorry to carry our firewood. We shall make several trips today and tomorrow. We buy firewood from here 25 kilometres away because it is cheaper. We keep it at my uncle's house. Whenever there is a funeral, the bereaved come and buy wood from us. In this way we are serving the public."

CASE 56

Four boys of about 14 years have a stand near Kapisha Shanty Township. Jailos said:

"Here we mend tubes, clean cars, paint wheel rims. Our big depot is near Mwaiseni Stores in town where most motorists

come to have their cars washed. We hire mechanics to repair cars and lorries there. We share the money. Mechanics come to ask us to organise work for them. They do it in their spare time and at night. We assist them as spanner boys.

CASE 57

Wendy and Daisy take turns to sell chickens brought from North-Western Province. The birds are put in homemade cages and delivered to Mr Koshita, Wendy's father. But both Koshita and wife were out so I chanced only Wendy at the main gate of their Nchanga North home in Chingola. Wendy is 12 and Daisy 14. When they are not at school they are busy helping at home. Village chickens are said to be a delicacy. Koshita has an arrangement with a Solwezi Trader to deliver chickens weekly. His daughters do the selling.

CASE 58

Chisha failed Grade 7 at Matelo Primary School - Chingola. She runs a roadside business near her parents' house selling popcorn and locally mixed cold drinks.

"I buy concentrated drink, mix it with water and put the contents in these small tubes. I put these in the deep freezer. I sell them to school children on their way home from school. They like them. We are on the main way from school."

CASE 59

Zelda, 14 years old stays with her aunt in Chimwemwe, Kitwe. She now has the job of a full time market woman selling dry

fish, at Chimwemwe market.

"At home my aunt makes me do all the domestic work including washing her son. I am a full servant. I want to return to my parents in Mkushi."

CASE 60

Chimusi, Soa and Mwenzo aged 15 of Kasompe, Chingola look for casual work from house to house. They have references from people they have worked for "hardworking young men. Try them on weeding, cleaning and trimming the hedge." They are of no fixed abode. Many people turn them away as potential thieves. But they claim to be genuine job-seekers and do get taken on.

CASE 61

Mwamba retired from school in Grade 6 four years ago at Kitwe Primary School. He is 15 years.

"I tried car minding. I washed cars, I tried to carry travellers' baggage at bus stations. I even pick-pocketed and got thoroughly beaten up. I am now comfortable. I have a contract with an Asian trader. I sell his cigarettes at Kabushi Bus Station. The commission keeps me going."

CASE 62

Jeff, 14 years old joined his uncle from a rural area. He left school in Grade 7 in Mansa. His uncle runs mini-buses. "I was made a conductor on one of these mini-buses. I collect a lot of money. I take it all to my aunt, my uncle's wife who is our accountant. The driver was told not to touch any money. I am very happy."

Mwila is 14 years old. He is in Grade 8 at Mukuba Secondary School in Kitwe.

"My father bakes meat pies and sweet scones. After school I go to sell these items at the Main Bus Station. I go there at 5 p.m. when most buses have departed for long distant places. This time most of those you find have missed their buses and are preparing for the night-stop so they buy my pies and scones for supper. I get back home at 7.30 p.m. with a smile."

CASE 64

Mwape, 14 year old boy, dropped out of school in Grade 7. He sells stationery, school text books, exercise books, ball-point pens, pencils, crayons and rubbers, at the Main Bus Station in Ndola. He still lives with his parents in Kantombola township. His mother is a fish marketeer.

"We meet in the evening - my mother from market and I from my stand. I buy my supplies from here in Ndola. they get them from Zambia's main suppliers of educational books based in Lusaka."

CASE 65

Edwin, 15 year old, dropped out of school last year from Kansenshi Secondary School in Ndola.

"I have a rented apartment. I am a sales agent of an Asian trader. I sell pots, pans, spoons, and other wares. I bought myself a bicycle six months ago. I receive a good wage." He wouldn't say how much.

CASE 66

Mswilima, 15 years old left school in 1986. He lives in Sinia township, Ndola.

"When I left school in Grade 5, I worked for an Asian lady as a domestic servant. On her departure from Zambia, she left me a bathroom scale. For two years I go into the streets persuading people to know their weight. I charge a little. By the end of the day, I have made enough money for my food."

CASE 67

Four boys of Pamodzi township in Ndola have since 1988 been running some kind of co-operative business. they are about 15 years of age.

Mukela: "We clean carpets for money. We bought benzene and brushes and advertised ourselves through hotels where we offered to clean first. We are now in demand. We buy other cleaning materials advertised at the Trade Fair."

CASE 68

Betty is 15 years and failed Grade 9 in 1989. She joined an Inter-town Mini Bus Company as a conductor or ticket sales lady in Ndola.

"My parents were vehemently opposed to the idea of joining the Bus Company, because the proprietor was a polygamist. But I insisted. I am quite happy. I am now tipped to be a stewardess on the luxury coach which my boss has ordered from South Africa."

CASE 69

In Chifubu, Ndola, I spoke to three boys of about 8 to 13 years who were carrying bundles of sugar cane. They were going to Ndola City Centre.

"We do this every year at this time. Each of these canes is K6; we shall sell them for K12 each. We make as many trips as we have energy." Meleki, the eldest boy assured me.

CASE 70

Along Lusaka-Kafue Road there has developed a stone-breaking business. Mothers and children dig up soft stones and break these with hammers into small pieces for building purposes. Nyashimoni with her two daughters aged 12 and 14 years were alongside the road breaking stones.

"We have been doing this for three years. We heap them into different sizes. They fetch different prices. My children don't go to school. We make enough money to maintain us. I have no husband. We live in Kanyama township."

This is one of the many experiences of stone-breakers, lined up along Kafue Road. I interviewed three more families. the story was the same. Broken marriages, doing it for a living and happy to do it, there was no alternative. With the years, prices of these heaps have gone up, and so has the demand from the public.

CASE 71

Jonas has a little tin-and-cardboard shelter at the junction of Ibex Hill and Kabulonga roads. during the day this boy of

15 with playmates James and Jabes sell sweets, scones, mangoes and any fruit in season, cigarettes and gum to passers-by.

"At night the contents of my shop are packed up in these boxes and taken home for safekeeping. At dawn the shop is up again. My friends are partners."

There are several minute shops like this one in Lusaka selling current requirements e.g. cooking oil, salt, etc. I visited ten of them and interviewed the children.

2. RURAL CHILDREN

The writer chose Mwinilunga District a remote district of a remote cinderella-styled province in Zambia's colonial days. Even after 28 years after independence no substantive development has been effected by the African government in the Province. Mwinilunga is at the extreme North-west of Zambia bordering Zaire and Angola.

Mwinilunga is considered traditionally very conservative because its population of Lunda/Ndembos is historically from the legendary Lunda Empire of Mwata Yamvwa in Zaire. Traditions and customs are deep-rooted. Victor Turner (1967) has written extensively about the Ndembo of Mwinilunga and clearly shows how the tribe is rooted in witchcraft and other sociological ceremonial undertakings.

I picked at random 47 girls and 53 boys who were between the ages of 8 and 15. I was biased towards those children who had never been to school, because my study of boys and girls in Lusaka and the Copperbelt was on children who attended or had

left school. The interviews took me six months from July to December 1991. I visited areas of Senior Chief Kanongesha, Chief Ikelenge and Chief Mwinimilamba. These areas are situated away from the Administrative Centre headed by District Officers of the Government and away from Christian mission stations, where semi-urbanisation is noticeable.

During my interviews in many areas, I met parents or relatives of children interviewed and engaged them into conversations on children generally, their own children or wards and on general development in the district. They were all for child labour. As a cover from inhibition I had ostensibly gone to the district to find out why the previous government had been defeated in the area during the October 1991 General Elections. I found a receptive audience who were singing praises of the new government and condemning the previous one for lack of development in the area. In this jovial spirit, both the old and the young spoke freely.

THE FINDINGS

In the field the findings were as follows:-

The boys worked long hours in the fields from dawn to sunset preparing maize fields with parents or relatives who gave them shelter. Relatives were mainly distant relatives, uncles, aunts, grandparents. A few were hired for money.

Cattle had only recently been acquired by a few outstanding villagers from Agriculture Co-operatives or on direct purchase

from missionaries. All herds were 'manned' by children from 8 to 15 years, sometimes even older.

Both boys and girls were graduates of circumcision and puberty ceremonies who considered themselves young men and women. They were so to speak, grown ups. They could not be bothered with school. They had to learn to be tough in preparation for marriage. some said they worked because customarily, they were expected to do so for a living.

I interviewed one boy who had escaped death from a snake bite by using village herbs (ndakala) a concoction of dried snake heads ground together with herbs and subsequently tattooed onto their feet and hands. This treatment is reportedly a common cure for snake bite in villages and it is very efficacious, I was assured.

No girls worked in their own maize fields or gardens, they worked with or for families who warded them. Some boys had their own plots and demonstrated skills rare for their age. In everything they undertook to do, there were risks like the snake case and those who herded cattle were fairly new to the trade, some boys were tossed away by the angry beasts. They worked all day only pausing for a meal at dusk. Some boys worked on foundries producing axes and hoes, fire hazards were expected.

In this district, trees are cut at the bottom to have the branches prepared for ash circles in which to plant millet. Trees have been known to fall on some children inadvertently.

Hunting with bows and arrows for the pot was a frequent event boys engaged in, either with elders or on their own with dogs. There were cases of boys missing their tracks back home and getting lost.

In 1965 the remains of four boys and their dogs were found by Police in Chief Mukumbi's area, east of Mwinilunga some four weeks after their disappearance. (District Commissioner's Annual Report for Solwezi District 1966).

Generally there is a distinction between boys occupations and girls jobs. The boys follow men's jobs and girls do women's work.

There was a strong adherence to customs and traditions. Girls were in a hurry to prepare for womanhood and good marriage and similarly, boys for manhood. Thus their activities were tailored for a better tomorrow. The ambition for a boy was to be a good hunter, or a good subsistence farmer or a good artisan from whom others bought hoes and axes.

The preparation for marriage of Zambian girls compares well with girls in Nigeria as reported in Chapter III. Lack of development, shortage of schools, clinics and roads were all blamed on the colonial and first independence governments. Schools were discarded because to them they merely raised false hopes for jobs that were non-existent. They merely frustrated boys and girls. There were no desertions from home like several cases in town because of traditional discipline and the easiness with which such cases would be traced and

heavily punished.

CASE HISTORIES

CASE 1

Nyakulenga of Ngombi village aged 13 years had just graduated at a puberty ceremony when asked why she had left her parents to stay with an aunt in Kabunji village, some 30 miles from home. The reply was:

"My mother has seven young children to care for. I am now old enough to marry so I should be out of the way, besides, my aunt is sure that when her son returns from the Copperbelt, he will propose to me for marriage, so I have to work hard to impress my family."

She had never been to school in her life.

CASE 2

Chidembu a girl of about 14 years got married in June 1991, she moved to her husband's home in Chief Kanongesha's area accompanied by a sister of 10 years.

"My sister was given to me by my parents to look after me and to report on my husband on any acts of cruelty as tradition demands."

Jailos her youthful husband confirmed that Ndona his sister-in-law was a little spy on him. The young couple had a cassava field of their own of some acres. The two girls did all the domestic work as well. Jailos was about 20 years.

CASE 3

Monji, a girl of 13 left home at 11 years to live with her

grandmother. She did all the domestic work for her grandmother who lived 25 miles from Monji's parents. When asked why she left home, she replied:

"I was always my grandmother's friend."

Was she thinking of marriage?

"Yes, very soon I hope to marry a man in the next village. He is a good hunter. He brings us meat quite often."

The man was about 35 years.

CASE 4

Maliya and Sombi, daughters of Nyambonji by her first marriage, deserted their mother to stay with an uncle because their new step-father did not want them and could have no children of his own. The girls did all the domestic work for their Uncle Jabesi.

CASE 5

Malina, Njombi, Kasenji aged about 14 years were carrying heavy baskets of cassava to the administrative centre some 10 miles from their home. When asked why:

"We do it twice a week to barter for second-hand clothes or sell for money."

CASE 6

Chombu, Nomi and aunt Maliya of Chief Kanongesha's area risked arrest by brewing and selling distilled beer - Lituku. The girls at 12 and 14 respectively, enjoyed their job but were aware of the risk.

CASE 7

Faustine and Mpenji both 14 years old travelled five miles every morning to work with other children on a farm of a retired Head Messenger.

"We feel very tired and afraid when returning home late. Sometimes we are too tired to cook ourselves food."

CASE 8

Muloji, Mkongi and Mbonji worked for another retired Civil Servant but camped at the farm with 10 other youths. Half their pay went to meet their upkeep. Conditions of living were described as terrible but, they added:

"We have no choice in the matter. Jobs are rare."

CASE 9

Mwanza, Katolu, Mumena and Soko aged 13 to 15 made a living by fishing with elderly women using big African baskets, and nets in Chinkalampata a fishing spot on Lunga river some 10 miles from the administrative centre. They risked crocodile attacks.

CASE 10

Musoli, Chiyesu, Masondi aged 14 were at the time catching caterpillars and making a profitable business in the area of Mwinilunga.

CASE 11

Tubeyi, Kaloza, Nyansambu, Muloji, Mwenda, Koji, Fuma, Mukoma and Mofu all of them between 13 to 15 years were in a road gang employed by a local peasant farmer, the others were boys.

They sang as they swung their hoes in style. All of them said the work was hard but they were lucky to have it. Some had been fired earlier on for absenteeism and laziness.

These youths reminded me of women road-gangs that had existed 30 years ago in neighbouring Angola (Portuguese, West Africa, as it was then known). The lifestyle in this area has not changed.

CASE 12

Chozi, Mbaka, Mulopi, Chaise, Ndakala, Muyomba were members of the mixed road gang. Their ages ranged from 14 to 15 years. They looked well and happy. Later I spoke to their employer, he said his problem was not to find children for work, but how to keep the unemployed away. Demand for jobs was very high. Some children were forced on him by their own parents.

CASE 13

A former clerk turned farmer had up to 12 young boys of 15 years herding cattle, doing domestic work, and all farm work for no money but senior ones were kept on for some years and paid a cow or heifer each. This arrangement of delayed benefits was made with their parents or guardians. I was introduced to the boys by their employer. I therefore did not take their names. The boys confessed being well fed but rather crowded in their shelter. To this the employer answered:

"They are better housed here than in their village huts which

they would have to build themselves."

CASE 14

Chipaya, Kabaji, Mukudi, Kanda, Luwiji, Mbayi, Mwetu, Chenda and Luwi about 14 years, each worked for village teachers both male and female as their domestic helpers. Each of them told me they were better treated than those who worked for villagers in gardens and maize fields. The teachers expressed the same view.

One common thing to all these rural boys and girls that the writer recognised was their undoubted faith in their family ties. They spoke with mistaken confidence in and glowing tribute to their fathers and mothers for teaching them the skills which they displayed at work. In the African society the extended family ties were very strong. When a man died his children were immediately "shared" among relatives. They were never to feel orphaned.

E. VIEWS OF OUTSTANDING PERSONALITIES ON CHILD LABOUR

In addition to interviewing children, I considered it appropriate to get the views of outstanding personalities on the subject of child labour. Accordingly, I heard from the former head of state, former and current government ministers, parliamentarians, church leaders, university lecturers, traditional chiefs and government officials. Their views have helped me in making recommendations that are contained in chapter VIII. Under this heading I recount the feelings of some of these personalities. Dr. Kaunda, first president of

the Republic of Zambia believes in child labour as a solid foundation of manhood. Throughout his 30 years of leadership he preached the importance of manual work.. He gave his own childhood as an example of preparing for adulthood responsibilities. His father died in 1932, leaving him at the age of 8 years, he recalls:-

After my father's death, my mother expected every one of her children to help her in keeping the house and home together. Though I was a boy, I was made to do every type of work around the house and in the garden. I learnt to carry water from the well two miles away. We were never allowed to make any excuse for not washing because there was no water and my mother insisted on us stripping for a bath every day. I learnt to kneel by the grinding stone and grind the millet for the evening meal. I learnt to sweep and clean the cooking pots and wash my own clothes and iron them as well. There was firewood to be gathered from the forest and always work to be done in carrying poles to build the grain bins and the chicken houses.

(Kaunda, 1962 pp.8-9)

To this day, Kaunda is reputed to be a hard worker. During the time of his presidency, he put in extraordinarily long hours of work every day at State House. His favourite saying was that a lazy man should not eat because he did not deserve food. He attributed his success to hard work in childhood and

throughout his adult life. He blamed capitalism for causing mercenary child labour which encouraged inequalities and "exploitation of man by man." A capitalistic way of life meant people must labour to enrich the favoured few. He could not be convinced that education and health services should be paid for by individuals instead of by the State.. Allowing a few rich people to pay would introduce class distinction in favour of the few privileged ones. In a speech entitled "A Nation of Equals" in December, 1992 he had this to say on children in particular and on collective responsibilities in a socialist country in general:-

In a humanist society, education and health services should continue to be free. If these are not sufficient today, society will continue to expand and improve these amenities. In future their growth should try to keep abreast of our population, provided the country continues to enjoy peace, stability and progress as at present.

In this situation, what is required is for leaders to bring up their children to understand and appreciate the need for all Zambians to work for their living in an honest and sincere way. These must, among other things, avoid doing anything that would be termed exploitation of one man by another. Leaders must instil into their children the importance of simplicity, because the opposite of this leads us into the spirit of acquisitiveness. Acquisitiveness leads us into the

creation of a materialist society with all the seeds of self-destruction embodied into it. Over and above, these leaders must instil into the minds of their children that their true security and happiness lie in the genuine security and happiness of the masses of our people. Whatever education they may have, whatever knowledge they may acquire, must be used to the benefit of the common man - God's man and Zambia. Obviously, we leaders cannot succeed to instil all this in the minds of our children if we ourselves do not believe in this way of life. Once we accept that if all the time we are going to work as a society to maintain a social system in which there is free education, free health services, then we are sure that our children and dependants within our extended family system will not suffer even if we should die before they have grown up to look after themselves, because the State will provide them with free education as well as free health services.

The above passage was a policy statement delivered to the nation of Zambia by the Head of State. When only funds raised by the State should be spent on education and health its limited nature leaves no room for realistic expansion of such services for an expanding population. The end result of this policy is to limit school places and medical facilities to available government funding.

Daniel Munkombwe, current Provincial Chairman of the United

National Independence Party (UNIP) in Southern Province, former Cabinet Minister for Local Government and Housing and an outstanding commercial farmer in Choma also like Kaunda was brought up the hard way by farming parents. He remembers working several hours per day when he was ten years. "Those were formative years", he says. He looked after cattle and risked snake bites and was often drenched by rain as he herded cattle. He does not remember having regular meals. He admits that he and most of his friends experienced tough child labour. But today he is one of the most successful Zambians. He believes that child labour under strict family control is responsible for his success. He believes that every Zambian child needs a spell of tough upbringing in order to acquire and develop leadership qualities. My interpretation of his contribution is that there is no labour in Zambia which is too dangerous or too tough for children to attempt.

Elijah Mudenda and Mainza Chona both former Prime Ministers of Zambia were both brought up in a farming community working long hours herding cattle and assisting with village jobs which would easily fall under the category of child labour but both appreciate this tough upbringing which gave them the discipline and preparation for future leadership. Even while he was a national leader Chona insisted on his son staying in the village to ensure maximum discipline through hard work away from parental soft hands. Both leaders maintain that provided children attend school, no amount of work they do is

bad for them.

From these and other Zambian leaders' childhood memories one thing is certain that they experienced tough times in their childhood. Since this labour was not paid for in terms of money we can safely say it was socialisation of a very strict nature which has paid dividends. The same socialisation passes for child labour today if the victims are in paid employment and working away from home. For the future, Kaunda, Munkombwe, Mudenda and Chona hold the view that the Zambian child should work hard to deserve a comfortable future. Today's hard working child is tomorrow's leader. They do not believe in exploitation of the child by adults, that is making the child the tool of their comfort.

Dr. Geoffrey Lungwangwa at the University of Zambia participated in the seminars in Lusaka, Kitwe and Livingstone. He was very helpful in qualifying to the participants the description or identity of a "street child". He stated that the way to identify such children in Zambia is to look for children who:

are likely to be poor, between 10 to 15 years and most these are expected to be boys who have a family which is weak and disintegrating and possibly headed by a mother. His parents might be unemployed, non-religious, alcoholic dependent, negligent, and irresponsible, illiterate or with little formal education. He must have gone to the street to find money for his family, usually to the same

place everyday where he is often exploited or abused. This appears to be a reliable description of a Zambian street child. But the writer cautions that some of these children who are victims of child labour are from good and educated families. Out of their sense of responsibility for family welfare, they have decided to find work in the informal sector in order to help with family incomes. Once they tried and earned good money, they gladly stayed on to make more money without paying tax and they do not spend money on accommodation and food.

Dr. Lewanika a Member of Parliament and an acknowledged leader of Women's affairs observed that street children are 'alert, energetic, active and loyal to each other, confident and good survivors.' While this is true, she did admit that they may also look poorly dressed, or scruffy, under-nourished and in poor health, untrustworthy, unpredictable and sometimes involved in alcohol. This is correct but could also be misleading, if these are the only qualities one is looking for. One would advise that the best guide is the environment in which one finds these children. When one finds children of school going age in shady places or roaming about in town generally or at some business stand during school hours one must immediately place such children in a suspect group irrespective of their appearance. In fact many working children have working places where one can find them

advertising their commodities, actually selling or working as the case may be. They are confident and sharp at handling money

Dr. Lewanika believes that the situation would greatly improve if the Government made available more funds for social amenities for children in various townships.

She believes that in addition to these facilities parents must avail themselves more often to children for advice, guidance and even to socialise with them. In this way children will love home life. Dr. Lewanika is a lady of tremendous experience having worked for the United Nations in Nairobi Kenya, Ivory Coast and some other African countries. It was a privilege to consult her on this subject as she is also the ruling Party's Chairperson for the Committee on Welfare of Children in Zambia.

Another useful contact was Dr. Kamuwanga, a lawyer, by profession and also a devout Christian. She condemned child labour and advocated for parents to send their children to schools that were available. She called on the government to build more schools and improve the vandalised ones. Through self help she advised the public should build more classrooms and purchase school materials. The children should only work to maintain their school premises. The church should be involved in anti AIDS programmes and help maintain AIDS victims, especially children.

Professor Haworth a psychiatrist who has written and presented

papers at international fora on Zambian children believes that the deteriorating economic situation in Zambia is largely to blame for the problems of child labour. He would like to see Zambian businessmen and the government investing in rural areas so as to make them attractive to keep young people at 'home' and to provide employment in agro-industries that would spring up as a result of deliberate government policies of opening up rural areas.

Meanwhile, working children in towns should be encouraged to take evening classes to raise their level of education. This view is shared by many prominent Zambians.

Arthur Wina, Member of Parliament (MP) and Minister of Education is very hopeful that with the government programme of providing schools with desks and books and stationery, schools will once more be dignified and attract many children who otherwise had lost faith in Zambian education. His Ministry's programme of providing more basic schools at primary level in rural as well as urban areas has been welcomed by parent-teacher associations in particular and the Zambian public generally, as this will provide more school places for children. The provision of private schools by those citizens who can afford to has received encouragement from the Ministry. Teachers' salaries have recently gone up by over 100 per cent, a boost which is hoped will be reflected in their performance. Private schools though permitted by law and are helping to alleviate the problem of school places, are

considered very expensive and not available to the very people who need them most. The desire of the people is for government to step in and control the fees and other charges. Government on the other hand is not likely to interfere.

Archbishop Mung'andu of the Catholic church expresses the worry that Zambian men as well as women have taken to drinking very heavily and less attention is being paid to their family responsibilities. Children are left to fend for themselves. He thinks this trend is due to economic frustrations. But he is encouraged by the number of young people who are in church attendance and who actually participate actively. He has been a source of encouragement to Government for his preparedness to serve on Government Committees which deal with social aspects of the Zambian society. In the last Government the writer and the Archbishop served together on the Social and Cultural Sub-Committee of the Central Committee of the United National Independence Party in 1988.

Mrs E. Mutale an outstanding church leader has her offices on Cairo Road in the middle of the city of Lusaka. She invites street children leaders to her office to discuss with them their problems. They open up over a cup of tea. The children confess to her that they are let down by those involved in stealing and pick-pocketing as the public cannot distinguish between the good and hardworking children from hardcore criminals. This process of dialogue does relieve the pressure on street children. In turn they develop a responsible

attitude to work. I have encouraged her to carry on and to recommend this approach to other church leaders.

During the last General Elections in October, 1991, many street children and other child workers worked hard to overthrow the ruling party in the hope that the new Government would improve their chances of employment especially in the informal sector. This explains why the new Government has not had any problems with the working children over the increase in prices of mealie meal, bread, milk and other essential items. According to Akashambatwa Lewanika, MP, the children are still hoping that given more time the new Government will improve the economy and therefore their chances of street trading and survival.

Akashambatwa resigned as Minister responsible for Vocational Training in the new Government in July, 1992, on a matter of principle. He still remains an active Party member and a Member of Parliament. He is Chairman of the Ruling Party's Committee on Finance.

Deputy Minister for Sport, Youth and Child Development Katongo Maine declared in April, 1992 that her Government could not inherit an obsolete national policy on the youth, left by UNIP, (the former ruling party).

"It is my Ministry's wish to reduce this problem and we are in a hurry to do this. I am asking you to come up not only with a policy paper but with a policy that is realistic, implementable and which is likely to succeed."

This she said at a seminar on formulation of a National Youth Policy at Mulungushi International Conference Centre. Maine confirmed later that Government had a lot of faith in the youth and their contribution in their welfare and to the nation at large. Maine is known to have been a Champion of Children's Rights for a long time. She is very forthcoming and progressive. But the Minister of Community Development and Social Services dampened the atmosphere when hardly a week after Maine's statement he was quoted in the Times of Zambia to have told a press conference that "welfare cash was not enough."

Gabriel Maka the Minister complained publicly over the inadequacy of funds allocated to his Ministry for public welfare assistance:-

The K1 billion allocated to the Ministry of Community Development and Social Services for the public welfare assistance scheme is not enough to help the underprivileged in Zambia.

The funds provided could only support 19,000 households in Lusaka alone if the Ministry's method of identifying indigent persons were adhered to strictly.

Maka's Ministry is the custodian of welfare monies in support of claims made by handicapped people.

When money is available it supports claims from other Ministries like Sports Youth and Child Development for funding children's needs.

John Kalenga, a Member of Parliament and Minister in the present Zambian Government has contributed money and materials to build basic schools within his constituency of Mwinilunga West. His main aim was to help stop migration of children from the district to urban areas in search of schools and employment. He was telling the writer how shocked he was to find that some of the street children he was now helping to repatriate back to the district some 1,000 kilometres away were children of carpenters and builders of the schools' classrooms he helped to construct in Mwinilunga. They left those schools to come all the way to Lusaka with a businessman dealing in secondhand clothes in order to enter "better" schools where books and uniforms were reportedly supplied free and no fees were levied. Once they were in Lusaka they could not be permitted into schools without transfer letters from their previous schools so the alternative was to sell secondhand clothes at the Luburma market with the uncle who brought them. The man has since disappeared to Zaire leaving his family and the extended family to fend for themselves. The wife is a marketeer. Her own children are in school. She could not afford to pay for these three others aged 10, 11 and 14 years.

Migration to urban areas is a continuing business. Sometimes children run off with relatives sometimes they come on their own. There are no barriers at provincial borders that used to screen people before independence. Senior Chief Kanongesha

and Chief Chibwika of Mwinilunga told the write that the previous Government had encouraged rural-urban migration by removing the barriers and by depriving chiefs of their original authority to control the movements of their subjects. In the days before independence, chiefs through their headmen and councillors checked on the movements of their subjects. They knew just where everyone was or supposed to be. They allowed visits to urban areas but recorded such visitors and saw to it that they returned to their villages. The same strictness was applied on children. In this way, even the receiving end was accountable for people's movements.

After the attainment of independence, it was thought that restricting people's movements was tampering with their human rights.

Children could not understand why they were being discouraged from migration to urban areas to join their young or senior "fathers" (brothers of their own fathers). According to Philip Brownrigg (1989 p.125):

The traditional community was an inclusive society. An African does not restrict the title "father" to his male parent. He also addresses his father's brothers as "father", and he calls his mother's sisters, "mother" also. With the title "father" goes all the responsibility of parenthood and in return all the "fathers" receive filial devotion. Hence, no child in a traditional society is likely to be orphaned."

This tradition has been a cause of social problems in Africa. The rural urban migration of children has been based on the strength of this traditional assurance. At the same time this assurance has been the cause of many divorces and family problems. When children migrate to a "father" in town to attend school they find that "father" is already overstretched. All his real children are attending school. He is unable to pay fees for the extended family. Relatives complain at home that he is discriminating; the "new" children cannot understand. The town wife disappears; running away from extra responsibilities. He takes another wife, the children lose parental care and in the end they leave school and find themselves on the streets working for themselves and very often for their siblings. The problem goes on.

Many children interviewed by the writer have confirmed this experience. In the case histories, the writer was confronted with these revelations. Some families had both parents working so they needed a helper to attend to children. Some people complained bitterly that the young helpers were lazy and unreliable and yet always demanding a rise in their pay. Another problem with rural urban migration is the belief that urban schools are better equipped than rural ones and that they are free from fees and are provided with books, pencils, rulers and uniform. When children hear these stories from people who do not care to check on facts, they believe them and escape to urban areas. It is as the old saying goes that

grass is greener on the other side of the fence. Schools are centrally controlled from Headquarters in Lusaka. Therefore rules apply equally to all schools. The only exception being privately run schools which in any case are very expensive and only the very rich can afford to send their children there.

The above mentioned people are outstanding in public life and did not mind their names being mentioned. They spoke for themselves as well as for organisations they represent. There were, however, many other people I discussed the issue of child labour with, who for personal reasons did not want to be identified in writing. Their views were seriously noted. These were Members of Parliament, Lawyers, Social Workers, Priests and Farmers. To them all I raised a few questions such as, what were the main factors contributing to child labour in Zambia? Has the problem of child labour in Zambia increased? Did they find the present laws for combating the problem effective? In which sector was the problem of child labour more common; in the formal or informal sector? What suggestions did they have for solving the problem of child labour in Zambia?

As there has recently been a change of government in Zambia some outstanding people like Permanent Secretaries were guarded and secretive in their contributions fearing reprimands and explanations to their new heads of Ministries. I have generalised information given in confidence lest they be persecuted. Generally, I got the feeling that there was

concern about the problem. Methods of tackling it varied from "strengthening the laws" to "building more schools and training centres." Many leaders expressed the view that child labour in Zambia had not reached harmful stages. It was necessary for survival.

D. CONCLUSION

In concluding this chapter on field work, I have to re-emphasize the role of the different sections and to state their inter-dependence. The introductory section points out care and caution adopted in gathering information from children. For fear of embarrassment the use of real names has been avoided. Real names were genuinely given but remain in research records that will not be published. However, where prominent people were consulted and had no objection to their names and titles featuring, I have gratefully acknowledged their inclusion.

I relied more on personal accounts of respondents than the questionnaire which was also important in getting children to talk about the same things. Many respondents gave statements which answered many questions in the formal questionnaire. The questionnaire was useful in guiding me and the respondents to stick to relevant issues. It ensured that fairness was practised in asking.

Many children requested and received for their retention copies of the questionnaire to take home to their parents and guardians. As there was no evil motive in the exercise, I

willingly obliged. This takes care of Section B. The next section after the questionnaire is section C which contains tables analysing basic information obtained from administering the questionnaire and getting statements from the children on the work schedule. The tables are accompanied by brief explanatory notes below highlighting what message each table conveys. The next section contains sample extracts of statements by respondents. These extracts also demonstrate the similarity of avenues of child employment in developing countries. Similar or identical jobs are performed by children in India, Brazil, Kenya and Mexico.

This Chapter portrays Zambia's problems in the field of child labour as being as numerous and grave as those of other developing countries, examples of which are covered in Chapter III. We have problems arising from an acute shortage of school places. We have problems of poverty and people working to survive. We have the ever expanding Informal Sector particularly in urban areas. We have the drift of people from rural to urban areas mainly in search of work, but we see the trend on the decline in the past two years.

In this chapter, new truths have surfaced, rural-urban drift is on the decline as Government policy is to assist retired and other people to return to districts. Most child workers operate from homes where they live with parents and relations with them are not strained as we read of other countries. The Police are looked upon as a source of security rather than

harassment. Children appear to exercise control over their pay. The variety of jobs is on the increase with retiring clerks, teachers, politicians and many other professionals seeking to establish homes, shops and groceries in townships, their needs demand workers in their new environment, and the informal sector appears to be the field of employment for children. There is still need for public awareness of the dangers of child labour. Although nearly half the population of Zambia is below 15 years the children do not seem to realise their leadership role and prepare to defend it.

They still work in small quiet groups. There are no effective organised youth protest movements over pay and conditions. These facts appear to be fully substantiated by the results of studies carried out by UNICEF on "Street Children" contained in the next chapter.

The above case histories demonstrate the variety of jobs available to children. But I must point out here that the majority of children are found employed in the construction world in the townships under the informal sector. You see them painting, plastering, roofing and doing carpentry work. Most houses built in townships have a heavy labour force of children doing adult work for little pay. In the process some acquire skills for future employment others fall by the way side. However, this study was not to prove which area of employment attracts most children. As I stated earlier, I was anxious to know the variety of jobs that attract child labour to this end any interviews exposed those new areas of work.

CHAPTER VII

THE SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION

1. INTRODUCTION
2. WORLD SUMMIT ON THE CHILD
3. UNICEF INPUT - STREET CHILDREN IN THE
YEAR OF THE ZAMBIAN CHILD - 1992
4. DEVELOPMENT AID FROM PEOPLE TO PEOPLE
(DAPP)
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CHAPTER VIITHE SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION1. INTRODUCTION

In Chapter VI we confined ourselves to seeing children at work in both rural and urban areas. We saw the variety of jobs in which they were involved. The jobs were casual and many of them invented by the children themselves. There was evidence of survival feats prompted by a national disaster. The disaster is the poverty that appears to have seized Zambia to the extent that children are forced to work in order to help raise additional incomes to support their families. Parents efforts alone cannot suffice. Children's education is no longer a priority matter. In any case there are not even enough school places to accommodate the fast growing population. Changing habits from people of strong rural and traditional ties to urban job-seeking masses deprived of homes and sustenance have contributed to the growth of child labour. In this chapter we shall try to focus on efforts of the government, NGOs and the leadership of the nation to correct the situation and put Zambia on the road to prosperity. To this end, it would appear that the holding of the World Summit on the subject of children at the United Nations Headquarters, New York in September, 1990 prompted Zambia, among other countries to focus on the problems of the child.

The Conference gave national governments directives on the subject. In Zambia, President Chiluba on 19 December 1991 declared the year 1992, the Year of the Zambian child resolving that:

- a) Zambian people had to investigate problems affecting children;
- b) The Zambians had to work out a programme of eliminating the problem that inhibited the healthy development of the child;
- c) In order to succeed in this work, a Parliamentarians Committee had to be created;
- d) There was to be formed an Inter-Ministerial Committee on children.

With this example, NGOs, UNICEF, and other organisations joined hands in organising seminars and workshops as well as carrying out practical investigations on the problem of street children. These workshops brought about national awareness of the problem. Some Embassies and other resident foreign national bodies went into the field to establish homes and institutions to assist in rehabilitating "street children."

2. WORLD SUMMIT FOR CHILDREN

The convening and successful holding of the World Summit for children in New York was achieved in September, 1990. All together 159 nations, more than 70 of them represented by Presidents or Prime Ministers and representatives of the

Organisation of African Unity and other international organisations attended. This record attendance was in itself a great encouragement to protagonists of the rights of the child.

The outcome, an agreed programme of action to end mass malnutrition, preventable disease and widespread illiteracy before the end of the decade was approved. The summit was held at a time when nations of the world needed a united approach to problems affecting the good health and prosperity of future leaders - the children. The summit gave power to political leaders to act.

All countries who attended the summit agreed to formulate detailed national programmes of action for achieving the goals, and indeed, by October, 1991, 60 countries had reached this first stage. It was expected that by October, 1992, more than 100 countries would have formulated the required programmes to achieve these goals. The Summit estimated that about \$20 billion would be required annually. This is the kind of money the world spends every week on military requirements alone. But will it be available to be spent on the cause of children? Even with the cold war shelved, the possibility of such expenditure on this noble cause is very remote.

The summit drew up ten propositions (UNICEF):- We reproduce these progressive and child respecting declarations.

a. Keeping the promise

Proposition: That the promise of the World Summit for children should be kept and that the new world should bring an end to malnutrition, preventable disease, and illiteracy among so many millions of the world's children;

b. First call for children

Proposition: That the principle of 'first call for children

- meaning that protection for the growing bodies and minds of the young ought to have a first call on societies' resources - should become an accepted ethic of a new world order. The essence of this principle is that it should be not just a priority but an absolute. The child should be able to depend on that commitment at all times instead of being at the mercy of shifting circumstances.

c. Fewer deaths, fewer births

Proposition: That if the issues of malnutrition preventable disease, and widespread illiteracy are not confronted as a new world order evolves, then it will be very much difficult to reduce the rate of population growth and make the transition to environmentally sustainable development.

e. Investing in people

Proposition: That the growing consensus around the

importance of market economic policies should be accompanied by a corresponding consensus on the responsibility of governments to guarantee basic investments in people.

f. Aid and Need

Proposition: That increases in international aid should be based on a sustained and measurable commitment to meeting minimum human needs and for maintaining, in difficult times, the principle of a first call for children.

g. The Economic Environment

Proposition: That increases in international aid should be based on a sustained and measurable commitment to meeting minimum human needs and for maintaining, in difficult times, the principle of a first call for children.

h. The Economic Environment

Proposition: That international action on debt aid, and trade should create an environment in which economic reform in the developing world can succeed in allowing its people to earn a decent living.

i. Disarmament

Proposition: That a process of demilitarization should begin in the developing world and that in step with that process, falling military

expenditures in the industrialized nations should be linked to significant increases in international aid for development and for the resolution of common global problems. It is pointed out here that military spending by the developing world is running at approximately \$150 billion a year. Superpower rivalries is chief cause of this expenditure. It is hoped that with the ending of the cold war, this can be considerably reduced (UNICEF).

j. Setting Africa Free

Proposition: That the chains of Africa's debt be struck off and that the continent be given sufficient external support to allow internal reform to succeed in regenerating the momentum of development.

UNICEF points out that for the first time in the modern era, a sub-continent is sliding back into poverty. The number of families in sub-Saharan Africa who are unable to meet their most basic needs has doubled in a decade. Average incomes have fallen by a third. The proportion of children who are in school has fallen. UNICEF commented on the 1991/92 season thus:

"This year, drought again threatens 27 million people in fourteen countries. In total, 40

million Africans are now displaced by military conflict or environmental disaster."

Three principal external reasons for Africa's decline have been the use of the continent as a board of superpower games, the relative fall in world prices for its raw materials, and the unsustainable weight of its debts. Debt is the new slavery that has shackled the African continent - UNICEF.

k. The Apartheid of Gender

Proposition: That a new world order should oppose the apartheid of gender as vigorously as the apartheid of race.

l. Planning births

Proposition: That the responsible planning of births is one of the most effective and least expensive ways of improving the quality of life on earth - both now and in the future - and that one of the greatest mistakes of our times is the failure to realize that potential.

For Zambia, the World summit promise is very much in keeping with her youthful population of 49 per cent under the age of 15 years.

The above propositions are worded in a powerful manner deserving of the attention of World States in order that we may have a better tomorrow for our posterity.

3. UNICEF AND UNDP INPUT: STREET CHILDREN IN THE YEAR OF THE ZAMBIAN CHILD

In sympathy with the Zambian Government over the plight of children international organisations working in Zambia such as UNICEF and UNDP in 1992 mounted a campaign to help sort out the problem of non school going children who patronise streets in search of food and employment. The common word used by UNICEF for such children is "street children". This term is borrowed from Latin America. It includes children roaming and working for their survival on major streets in modern cities. This particular exercise is relevant to my study on child labour in Zambia. Later on I make the distinction between "Street children and child labour". The findings of this study reinforce my own findings. I agree with points (a) to (d) below as can be seen in Chapter II.

According to UNICEF's study the following revelations come to light (UNICEF 1992 P 59). Street children in Africa are numerous for the following reasons:

- a) Africa has the largest number of the poorest countries in the world. It is children from poverty-stricken families who are more likely to be in the streets to generate an income;
- b) It is in Africa where there is persistent drought and famine. When it rains too much, there are floods and famine again. Famine drives people into already congested urban centres. It is in towns where imported

food relief supplies are mostly available;

- c) Africa experiences a crisis of governance leading to a crisis of effective political unity. this results in civil strife and civil wars;
- d) Africa has allowed itself to be a playground for superpower war games.

The above points are valid in my pursuit of causes of child labour. The report continues - "The consequence of (c) and (d) above is the replacement of millions of people into safe havens, the urban centres. The situation in Liberia, Ethiopia, Somalia, Mozambique and Angola to name, but a few, leads to millions of children to live in the streets.

In times of war, children miss their parents. They develop survival interests, one of which is to live in the street.

Most of such children are under the age of 15 years. They guard and wash cars, they pick-pocket, break into vehicles for valuables and some beg.

The Government of Zambia, concerned non-Governmental organisations and other professional groups have recognised the existence of this problem of street children as being part and parcel of child labourers.

In both the Third and Fourth National Development Plans 1979-83 and 1985-89, the Ministries of General Education, Youth and Sports and Labour, Social Development and Culture were directed by the Government to respond to the situation of street children.

It was not until mid 1991 that UNICEF in conjunction with the relevant Ministries and the Departments of Child Affairs and Social Development, that a study was conducted.

The survey done in Livingstone, Lusaka and Kitwe was to assess the extent of street children in Zambia, determine the influence of such factors as broken homes, household changes, economic crisis in the creation of the phenomenon of street children, and examine the factors that affect the survival of street children. (UNICEF 1992:59).

Here is a summary of UNICEF workshop observations:-

(i) EXTENT OF CHILD STREETISM IN ZAMBIA

The study revealed that there could be as many as 35,000 street children, and another 350,000 highly vulnerable child candidates for the street throughout the country. UNICEF and UNDP project that this figure may rise to 57,000 by the year 2,000 if nothing is done to redress the situation.

At the first National Workshop on Street Children held on 14th February, 1992, in Lusaka, participants learnt that contrary to the conventional wisdom which says that most of these boys and girls lack both family and habitat, most do go home regularly, if not daily, and that they are on the streets to generate income for their poor families.

An overwhelming number of street children enjoys very good relations with their parents. Their activities involve selling and delivering goods and often work in groups.

Among the problems faced are harassments by the police,

general public and older youths, poor health and family verbal abuse.

(ii) THE IMPACT OF STREET CHILDREN

The 1992 workshop on street children highlighted the realities of the problem.

The strategies recommended to tackle the problem were:

- a) devising programmes and projects that link the community, family and the child in earning and learning activities;
- b) awareness rallying campaigns in partnership with the mass media so as to enable society appreciate that street children are victims of society's own social economic organisation and not to perceive them as a problem;
- c) the establishment of starter funds and multipurpose centres for street children in major towns.

From the issues raised, it is clear that the problem of street children in Zambia exists.

It is bound to grow taking into account the factors below:

- i) privatization of government enterprises and Civil Service which has already led to massive unemployment among the poorest of the poor;
- ii) the falling purchasing power of the Kwacha means that the poor may not afford to meet the basic needs;
- iii) cuts in Government expenditure in education means that
 - * more children whose parents cannot afford "school fees" may only think of the street as their hope in life.

It is on the street where they are abused. Legal provisions

exist for protecting young persons from exploitation. Chapter I Article 24 of the Laws of Zambia states:

No young person shall be employed and shall in no case be caused or permitted to engage in any occupation or employment which would prejudice his health or education or interfere with his physical, mental or moral development.

All young persons shall be protected against physical or mental ill-treatment, all forms of neglect, cruelty or exploitation. (Government Printer 1991;32).

The above legal provision needs to be backed by action initiatives with and for street children based upon the defence of children's rights. Talking of the need for action, one would suggest the following measures:-

- a) One way in which the welfare of street children may be upheld is through the establishment of a juvenile court in Zambia. It is such a court that would also monitor Police abuse of authority on street children.
- b) The provision of skills training and rehabilitation at street children centres should be pursued as a matter of urgency.
- c) The Government, NGO's, religious groups and individuals should not only talk about the problem, but be actively involved in resolving street child related problems.

My personal impressions of the workshop are that the timing of the workshop was good. It came when the Zambian Government

was inspired by the New York Summit on children. It coincided with my own research on the subject of child labour. From UNICEF report I further make the following observations.

The UNICEF Representative spoke of survival skills and qualities of courage and perseverance displayed by street children. Participating also were other international organisations resident in Zambia. The conference appears to have been a great success as it brought about great awareness of the plight of children and the evils of child labour.

Contrary to the conventional wisdom which says that most of these children lack both family and habitat most do go home regularly, if not daily. By far the largest number of these youngsters are on the street in order to generate income for their families. —

As already stated the workshop estimated that there could be as many as 35,000 street children in Zambia today and that 350,000 highly vulnerable child candidates for the street could be in the queue for the approaching century's first decade. Who is this street child? It is the child labourer found on the streets of major towns, car minding, vegetable vending, shoe-cleaning and begging.

There exists a difference between street children as a group and child labour as an occupation. A good number of street children do look for work and some actually find work. Others roam the streets day and night with no intention of finding work. They may be pick-pocketing; they may be thieves, they

may work as car minders, car cleaners and street vegetable and fruit vendors.

As we have seen from sociologists' definitions, the term child labour refers to the hazardous type of work children are involved in. There are many children in Zambia who are involved in child labour without necessarily roaming around the streets. Just as there are children involved in child work in streets and off-streets. If we agree with this view, then the exercise by UNICEF and UNDP valuable as it is, leaves out many children who are labouring but are out of reach because their work places are not necessarily on streets. This being so, percentage arrived at could be quite off the mark. Having said this, let me admit that the term "child labour" and that of "Street Children" are often used by sociologists to refer to the suffering children of the developing world, particularly in urban areas.

The workshop's findings in percentages are given below:-

Children staying with family members	93%
" " " parents	72%
" " " other relatives	21%
" " " in shanty compounds	57%
" " " in low cost. areas	37%
" who smoke and drink	33%
" who smoke marijuana	20%
" with parents who are married	62%

"	with parents - unmarried, separated or dead	38%
Children who have lived with their family all their lives		73%
Unemployed fathers		12%
Unemployed mothers		56%
Unskilled labour		34%
Informal sector		31%
Having at least one sibling on street		42%
Total number of siblings on street		48%
Very good relations with mothers		92%
Very good relations with fathers		98%
Very good relations with guardians		86%
Spend most of their time on the street to earn money		69%
Went to the street between 11-15 years		67%
Were on the street since 10 years or less		20%
Working in groups on the street (5 members		65%
Virtually no one works alone		
(UNICEF 1992 - LUSAKA)		

Recommendations of the workshop were as follows:-

- a) the establishment and operationalisation of a small national co-ordinating committee for all Zambian street children;
- b) the delegation to one government Ministry all matters pertaining to children;

- c) the establishment and operationalization of multi-sectoral municipal committee of the protection and well-being of street children;
- d) the drawing of action plans;
- e) the setting up of multi-purpose street children activity centres
- f) the designation of full-time co-ordinators;
- g) the establishment and development of a financial base for seed funding of most urgent activities;
- h) the initiation of public sensitization and conscientization programmes;
- i) the provision of special attention, to the rights and needs of street girls.

The above recommendations represented an overall consensus of the participants who also drew up lists of principal challenges, strategies and needs. Some of which are the following:

- Challenges:
- 1) poverty, and related unemployment
 - 2) rigid, negative and discriminatory attitudes;
 - 3) difficulty in gaining street children's confidence;
 - 4) difficulty in access to street children;
 - 5) lack of public awareness;
 - 6) difficulties posed by street children's lifestyles;

- 7) lack of street children's protection;
- 8) neglect of street children's basic needs;
- 9) instability of street children's families;
- 10) frequent abuse and use of alcohol and other drugs.

Needs

- 1) mobilization of community sectors;
- 2) —funds for „ start-up activities and seedings
- 3) local co-ordinators and their salaries;
- 4) enforcement of existing laws;
- 5) greater use of the media;
- 6) setting up of revolving funds;
- 7) linkages with existing formal education programmes;
- 8) provision of contributions.

UNICEF's recent discoveries re-enforce my findings contained in Chapter VI of earlier research on child workers. It will be noted that:-

- a) the majority of the children operate from home;
- b) there is a high rate of divorce;
- c) children work in order to make money for survival;
- d) unskilled workers - 34% and informal sector workers 31% add up to 65% because unskilled workers are identified with the informal sector, hence confirming my observation that most children work in the informal sector.

COMMENTS ON UNICEF STUDY

As already indicated in this Chapter, the study is commendable and has given me a lot of encouragement as many of their findings agree with my own observations. However, one should not lose sight of the fact that the study was directed at those children available in the streets of Lusaka, Livingstone and Kitwe towns on that particular occasion whether they were child workers at the same time or just street loafers. Outside main streets, one finds a lot of child workers in the informal sector. Many of these have admitted not being aware of the UNICEF study.

In the busy streets child workers comprise vegetable and fruit or food vendors, shoe shiners, beggars and pick-pockets, also car minders and car washers. Apparently stone breakers on Kafue Road and in the Kalingalinga areas were not interviewed either. Many townships were not touched. The time was too short. It should be an on-going exercise by the committees that the workshops elected.

UNICEF reached consensus on a number of things. For instance, the establishment and operationalization of a small national co-ordinating committee for all Zambian street children. This is 1993, one year after the workshop, no such co-ordinating committee appears to have been formed. Not even Municipal Committees with the same name have been set up. Nor do we see any designated full-time co-ordinators. One cannot blame UNICEF, but workshops like the one the organisation sponsored

have a tendency to make sweeping recommendations which are not implemented. A lot of good ideas die on paper. Going by what was recommended if action had been taken today there would be no street children whatsoever. The enthusiasm of workshops seems to end in conference rooms. I am afraid the same can be said of the World Summit on children of 1990. Implementation of recommendations has been slow in member states.

The same workshop could have delegated to one Government Ministry all matters pertaining to children. Nothing yet has been done by Government to implement this recommendation. On the contrary one still gets various ministries advancing views on children in accordance with the laws on children which they sponsor. In Chapter V I have spoken of various chapters of the Laws of Zambia being administered by many ministries. One has yet to see when the Government will narrow delegation of these powers to a fewer ministries at least, I have raised the issue with some Government Ministers.

Under strategies, the workshop called for the establishment of multi-purpose street side centres and organisation of street children clubs. To this day there are not such clubs in existence. Who was supposed to "organise" them in the first instance. NGO's continue to assist in the battle against child labour or street children, but I have made discrete enquiries from some NGO's. There has not been a request or directive from anybody to influence the rate of their action on this subject. They, on their own initiative give such

assistance as funds allow them to do so. UNICEF should in future involve only committed organisations and individuals in fighting the street children problem without spending useful resources on workshops that draw hundreds of participants and that get mob excitement to draw up programmes that only remain on paper. I know the present Representative of UNICEF, personally as a very hard working and committed person. He needs encouragement. May be he should approach the Ministries of Community Development and Education directly to get them to sponsor necessary legislative amendments to the present laws in order to effect progressive changes. In this way UNICEF will achieve results.

Having said that I believe UNICEF workshops attracted a lot of people who went to help with the problem of child labour. It is important to gauge the degree of interest in the subject. May be there is need for more workshops in order to help identify allies in this war; war against poverty.

The struggle to survive is calling upon more and more children to join adults at work. Of late children join road gangs to patch pot holes. When motorists pass they display placards asking for financial assistance. Their patching is never ending as they use soil to cover pot holes. It is said that at night they remove it so that the following morning the boys are back filling the same pot holes.

Another new feature is the exercise called "Food for Work." The Catholic Church has organised mothers to patch roads in

townships in return for mealie meal, beans and cooking oil portions. Entrance to the team is voluntary, but preference is given to members of their Church. This practice was at first criticised as exploitation of women. Its benefits to families has made it gain momentum. The Catholics take on only mothers with young children to help fight malnutrition. At least, there is in action another NGO, helping with food for the deprived.

According to Situmbeko Musokotwane of the University of Zambia:

A big proportion of the population comprises young people. Forty percent and 49.9 per cent of the population was made up of children below the age of 15 in 1969 and 1980, respectively. The projections for 1990 are not very different from the 1980 observations.

(Kwaku Osei-Hwedie and Muna Ndulo 1989 p 41)

4. DEVELOPMENT AID FROM PEOPLE TO PEOPLE (DAPP)

The Danish Community in Zambia also responding to the call for combating child labour. They have formed an organisation called Development Aid from People to People (DAPP). The initiative was taken in 1991.

The programme under Secretary General Anne Jensen was simply referred to as "Street Children International". The organisers had obtained land in all the nine provinces of Zambia and established simple centres called "Children's Town"

to which they recruited about 28 to 30 children of the ages between 10 to 15 years. These children were to be recruited for a period of five years to learn simple skills such as gardening, carpentry, building and schooling. They had to work hard to produce their own food eventually and to run the centre as an established institution. The land given to the organisation in each province was by no means the best for production. This was welcomed by the organisers in order to prove their point, that with good skills all land was useful. The children recruited were among the most neglected by parents and the general public. This again was to prove the point that all children were teachable. Already some of these centres are doing well. Their work appears on Television Zambia now and again.

On 29th December, 1992, TV Zambia, showed such children at Malambanyama camp near Kabwe being taught how to graft citrus fruit trees. This "Children's Town" aims at producing half a million seedlings of fruit and ordinary trees for sale to farmers. DAPP sells second-hand clothes in Lusaka to raise money for this Children's project.

We have yet to see what happens after the first five years. It is hoped that some will stay on to help teach the new recruits and others will be sufficiently rehabilitated to run their own affairs away from the centres.

The centre near Lusaka has 28 children some are orphans, others have parents but they have deserted their homes. A few

were and have confessed to have been thieves and plunderers. Today they are all in uniform looking dignified and industrious.

This appears to be a good scheme. It has its limitations. Zambian authorities do not easily give land for whatever development projects. So it may not be easy in the future to try and get virgin land or extensions to what land they already have. Agriculture is key to their training. The inputs are not easy to obtain particularly for the "graduating" children; so after a good five years some children may still find it hard to make the grade. the issue of uniforms should be reconsidered as the children, smart as they look, tend to develop an attitude of formality. They would begin to feel like school children who come and go to an institution, instead of developing as future independent self-sponsored young people.

At the moment the centres are financially sponsored by the Danish Government and Danish people. The organisers should try to involve Zambian sponsorship and awareness as quickly as possible. As it is, some people look upon these centres as Government institutions.

I feel the system of recruitment to these centres should be discussed freely with organisers of conferences on street children and where possible, they should involve the parents. Parents should have free access to the centres to learn for themselves how the children are benefitting. There should be

no spirit of separation or isolation dogmas. The children should grow to develop, love for and confidence in their parents whom they should look forward to serving or assisting on completion of their assignments. Five years appears to be too long a period of isolation from parents considering that these are not formal courses.

The system of institutes as we have seen in Brazil is a slow cure to child labour or as the case may be street children's dilemma. We should as a society go more for public awareness seminars with the full participation of children. I would be more inclined to using available funds on propaganda programmes to cover more ground and make an impact on the recipients country-wide rather than institutionalising combative tactics. If say the donors run out of funds, there would be more frustrations created than cure. However, it is an effort in the right direction, though too paternalistic. Apart from DAPP another worthwhile movement was launched in Lusaka in 1992 by an NGO called Care International. The movement was called Pre-Urban Self Help (PUSH) to combat the hunger brought about by the drought of 1991 to 1992 season. PUSH employed mothers and women in general in townships on the outskirts of Lusaka to work on road maintenance in return for mealie meal, beans, cooking oil and other food items. Another name for PUSH was "Food for Work Projects". Under this scheme several women registered and worked long hours for food for their families. There was a lot of criticism to start with,

but as time went on the public appreciated the scheme as a means of saving people from hunger especially children. Its popularity spread to other towns. Mothers found themselves contributing effectively to family budgets.

Good as this scheme has become it is not without its disadvantages, children were neglected. School going siblings were being persuaded by parents to neglect schooling in order to look after their younger brothers and sisters while others worked. This has come to the attention of Care International project Engineer Cari Whyne to introduce yet another complimentary scheme - free nursery schools in compounds where women work on roads. Such schools are now operating in Kanyama and George Compounds.

According to Felix Kunda of Zambia Daily Mail dated 17th August, 1993

The response has been overwhelming from children whose number rose from 80 when they first opened Kanyama Pre-schools to 225 to date. This has led the organisation to divide the class into three categories. The first group being called the little Rabbit is a class of children who are taught the grade one syllabus followed all over the country in schools. The second one called Teddy Bear comprises those aged three and the last class is called Jack and Jill for children below three. A mother who works for PUSH projects can send as

many children as she can to school without paying anything, but non PUSH workers are not allowed to send their children to these pre-schools.

There is already an outcry from mothers who are not with PUSH projects. There is also a problem as to classroom facilities which are in great demand. Otherwise the efforts of PUSH are very positive to the Zambian society. So much for help from NGOs and Embassies what is government's role in combating child labour and unemployment? We move on to this.

5. RURAL RECONSTRUCTION CENTRES AS A POOL FOR EMPLOYMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

The Zambian economy has been on the decline since the mid 1970s. Among the reasons advanced are: the rise in the price of imports - like petroleum products and essential raw materials in industry. The result of all this has been general unemployment particularly among the youth. During the First and Second Republics the leadership was most concerned with the increasing number of unemployed youth some of them in their desperation and to abandon school or got chased from school and found employment in the informal sector in order to survive.

According to the 1986 labour force survey of the 2,717,610 economically active persons about 823,072 were youths. Of these 675,645 (82.6%) were in rural areas (Fourth National Development Plan - 1979 p. 60) youth in this context was defined as persons aged twelve to twenty four years, mainly

school leavers.

The Government adopted several strategies from as early as 1975 to try to redress the situation. One of the strategies was the identification of growth places or regional development centres throughout the country. In the Third National Development Plan for the period 1979 to 1983 towns and sub-towns were classified in their descending order as follows:-

- a) growth poles
- b) centre of development
- c) sub-centres of development
- d) village development centres.

Taking into account that most of the youth were identified to be in the rural areas, the village development centres became the most popular units for employment creation.

It is against this background that the Rural Reconstruction Centres (RRCs) came into being. The RRCs were part of the village development centres. The then Republican President Dr. Kenneth David Kaunda confidently told the annual meeting of the House of Chiefs in December, 1976:

These (Rural Reconstruction) Centres are very cardinal to the revolution in the country now the focus of United National Independence Party (UNIP's) efforts. Colonial brain-washing has led our youths to grow with the idea of life under the bright lights of cities and of white collar jobs as

the only avenue to decent future. This is also as, of course many colonial teachings are. The future of youths flourishes on the fertile soils of Zambia. Our countryside, with its vast rich resources in soil, water forests and wildlife offers abundant opportunities for the people of Zambia to live happily and in prosperity. We must educate the Zambian youth right from the beginning about the beauty of working on the land, the beauty of practising Humanism through self-reliance, acquiring skills and experience to mould a decent future in our rich countryside. Fundamentally, Rural Reconstruction Centres are major vehicles in our national productivity drive. These Rural Reconstruction Centres should be a leading motivating force in spearheading the agrarian revolution in the countryside.

This quotation gives President Kaunda's outline of aims of Rural Reconstruction Centres within the context of the then Zambia's ideology (Humanism) and rural development goals. In line with this message the (1980 - 85) Five Year Programme of Action for the then ruling party UNIP Youth League, the Party specifically outlines the role of a category of youths called the Peasant Youth. It states:

These are based in the rural areas and depend upon agriculture for their livelihood. These are the

main driving force in the rural areas. These youths could be made to implement the 'Back to the Land' policy. These youths could organise themselves into various kinds of socialist oriented co-operatives from producer co-operative to consumer co-operatives and others in the villages. The Youth League in the villages, must be the party's major lever in boosting and collectivising agriculture, cattle ranching etc., and in organising the party and reconstructing the backward rural areas. The same agronomist, and land experts extended to farmers and private co-operatives, could be made use of by the Youth League Co-operatives etc.

The perceived role of the youths of Zambia in rural development was categorised as follows:

- a) In the absence of formal paid jobs in the towns, youths would have to work on the land as farmers.
- b) Youth oriented socialist structures would have to be created in the rural areas. Regular agronomists and other rural development experts would help youths to develop consumer co-operatives and collective forms of agriculture in rural areas.
- c) Although urban youth would be encouraged to go back-to-the land, peasant youths, already based in the rural areas would form the main driving force in youth-oriented

rural schemes.

- d) The responsibility for organising rural youth, programmes would lie within the Party's own Youth League.

The above quotations and analysis demonstrate that Zambia's rural development policies were dictated by the ruling Party and its leadership. Technocrats and the people of Zambia were dictated to. This approach explains why agriculture has not developed in Zambia even after thirty years of independence in a country of great agricultural potential. Many scholars have made observations on these top-heavy policies which ironically are supposed to serve the growing youth population.

What one of these technocrats observes:

The Party and Government in Zambia see the future of Youth as being related to the entire process of development. From this perspective, the training and employment needs of the school leavers is seen in the context of the entire youth population. The Party and its Government have, as a matter of policy, insisted that the most obvious alternative to wage employment is employment on the land; hence they frequent go back to the land's exhortations (Kawonga 1981 p.68).

And another expert had this to say long before the advent of the Rural Reconstruction Centres:-

And if policies are not achieved to balance rural and urban development, the providing amenities in large cities become self-defeating; more and more young people

are attracted from the countryside (Callaway 1963 p.35) Despite opposition to going back to the land by school leavers and the youth population generally the desire by the leadership of the ruling party to establish Rural Reconstruction Centres finally turned into action in 1975, when the Rural Development Sub-Committee was given a directive by President Kaunda to establish the Rural Reconstruction Centres. By the end of that year fifty such centres were established with the following aims and objectives.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

- a) To help diversify the Zambian mono-economy from copper to agriculture.
- b) To achieve self sufficiency in foodstuffs and raw materials for local consumption and for export.
- c) To facilitate the establishment of agro-based industries.
- d) To banish unemployment by making use of the abundant but idle manpower and natural resources.
- e) To improve general living conditions of the rural population and
- f) To eventually achieve a balanced economy for the entire nation

(Government of the Republic of Zambia 1977 p.5 Government Printer: Lusaka

To these objectives the Government added that the programme would in future bring forth the following benefits.

- a) Social facilities. The larger settlements will enable the Party and Government to extend social facilities such as:
- i) More schools in rural areas.
 - ii) Recreational facilities such as modern sports fields, cinemas etc. to the rural population as well.
 - iii) More and better health and sanitary conditions for the rural masses, and
 - iv) Community development facilities such as domestic and homecraft centres, mass literacy, etc.
- b) Economic prosperity for all calculated in terms of
- i) Mass employment that is employment for all.
 - ii) Production gains as a result of the opening of small industries; and
 - iii) Export gains in terms of increased foreign exchange earnings, that is, the nation will be able to produce more for its own and the surplus to sell to other countries.
- c) Overall social well-being. Because there would eventually be less or no importation of food stuffs and raw materials for our local industries per capita income (income per head) will be higher. Thus the citizen shall have enough money gained from exportation of our goods and will result in increased investments in turn we will

be able to finance vital projects such as extensions to existing hospitals and clinics, improvement of our roads, railways and other communication channels, provisions of decent living accommodation, improvement of our water reticulation system, etc.

- d) With such a sound and self reliant economy the nation will be better prepared to defeat capitalism and its offshoots of imperialism, colonialism, fascism, racism on the one hand, and hunger, poverty, ignorance, disease, crime and exploitation of man by man on the other. (Government of the Republic of Zambia 1977 pp. 30-31).

ADMINISTRATION OF THE RURAL RECONSTRUCTION CENTRES

The Rural Reconstruction Centres were placed under the administration of the Zambia National Service Commandant, at the time he was an Army Major and was to be assisted by 106 centre leaders especially trained in agriculture and military skills. Additional 'experts' in agriculture were also recruited from the civil service and agricultural training institutions. The leader of each centre was a military person.

There were two forms of recruitments. The majority of the recruits were Grade Seven school leavers, often referred to as drop-outs. Some recruits were Grade Nine school leavers. This category was recruited through and by the ruling party

organs on voluntary basis. The co-operation of the parents was necessary because some recruits were very young. Successful recruits were transported by National Service vehicles to the centres nearest their homes. The second form of recruitment involved Grade Twelve school leavers. These were recruited by the National Service direct from schools. They had to be the bright students who had been selected for higher education academically or professionally. They were just given six months military training at National Service Centres, before going to Rural Reconstruction Centres if they failed to get to formal institutions they had applied for. All recruits were children of not more than 15 years of age, my category of study.

-CRITERIA FOR SELECTION OF CENTRES

Villages chosen to be Rural Reconstruction Centres had to have:

- i) Plenty and good arable land for agriculture.
- ii) Adequate water supply for domestic uses and agricultural production.
- iii) A population of about 2,000 to 5,000 within and around 15 kilometre radius.
- iv) Accessibility by at least a class III gravel road.
- v) A primary school.

But once more Zambian towns are full of job seekers and child labour in the informal sector has reached very high proportions. So Rural Reconstruction Centres, once the

nation's hope for employment and cradle for development particularly of rural Zambia are now institutions only by name and for historians and research scholars. On paper, the centres have now been transformed into rural co-operatives. There is urgent need to review these co-operatives role and objectives particularly so in the Third Republic, which is very critical of the past administration of Kenneth Kaunda's. Zambia should take the advice of some well-wishers; such as these:-

Zambia and other African countries pursuing a policy of 'back to-the-land' to control the influx of school leavers into urban areas, need to have well articulated and defined policies regarding youth development on one hand and agriculture and rural development on the other hand. The Rural Reconstruction Programme has revealed the lack of effective youth development policy in the country. A policy which seeks to band young people as if they were homogeneous units possessing equal abilities and gaining equal rewards is, to say the least short sighted. Youth development policies especially those concerning raising employment for school leavers, must be regarded as long term (Osel-Hwedie and Ndulo 1989 p.65).

The youths want an outlet for their ambitions, opportunities for self improvement and recognition

of the diversity of their talents, Fallaway (1963 p.367).

INFRASTRUCTURE REQUIREMENTS

It was anticipated that each centre would be supplied with the following:-

- i) A health centre
- ii) A shop
- iii) Seed and fertilizer depot
- iv) Agricultural marketing depot
- v) Agricultural credit facilities
- vi) Postal Agency
- vii) Boreholes
- viii) Cattle dip tanks
- ix) Agricultural extension services, and
- x) Tractor hire services etc.

Settlers were provided with food-stuff but had to make their own grass shelters.

ASSESSMENT OF RRCs PROGRAMME - 1975-1983

TABLE 16 RURAL RECONSTRUCTION CENTRES (RRCs AS AT 1977)

(SOURCE: TNDP 2979: P.88)

PROVINCE	NO. OF CENTRES	NO. OF SETTLERS
Central including Lusaka	5	1031
Copperbelt	7	1058
Eastern	8	674

Luapula	5	585
Northern	8	1164
North-Western	5	500
Southern	6	1138
Western	6	880

TOTAL	50	7030
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The fifty RRCs had 1,676 hectares under cultivation. The major crops grown were:

TABLE 17CROP AREA COVERED BY RRCs

	<u>CROP</u>	<u>HECTARES</u>
i)	Maize	1231
ii)	Groundnuts	87
iii)	Soyabeans	76
iv)	Sunflower	212
v)	Rice	33
vi)	Cotton	<u>37</u>
	TOTAL	1,676

=====

(Source: TNDP 1979: P.88)

By the end of 1977, 1,248,000 fruit trees were planted as shown in the table following.

TABLE 18

<u>FRUIT TREES PLANTED BY RRCs</u>		
	<u>TYPE OF TREES</u>	<u>NO. OF TREES</u>
a)	Peach Trees	825,000
b)	Orange Trees	53,000
c)	Lemon Trees	10,000
d)	Grape Vine Trees	110,000
e)	Plum Trees	50,000
f)	Pawpaw Trees	200,000
TOTAL		1,248,000
		=====

(Source: TNDP 1979: p.89)

Livestock rearing was undertaken and included oxen, pigs, goats, rabbits, sheep and poultry.

From the above figures, it is clear that the RRC programme took off but with little success. Some of these successes are:-

- a) Production of staple food and cash crops that contributed to food and industrial raw material self sufficiency.
- b) The agricultural skills that settlers acquire in growing specialised crops like fruit trees such knowledge could have been utilised in cases where settlers decided to establish their own plots.
- c) The surrounding villages benefitted from the RRCs since agricultural inputs and produce could be brought and sold

within reach.

1) Other settlers were trained and acquired such skills like:

- i) Revenue Accounts Clerks
- ii) Medical Assistants, and
- iii) Teachers Social and Community Development workers.

ESTIMATED COST

The initial cost of implementing the plan for 800 persons per centre - with five centres in each district - was estimated at K35 million. K17.5 million was provided initially, further funds were released on an annual basis, to support the consolidation of the centres (TNDP, 1979: p.89).

The costs for implementing RRCs should have gone up considering the following factors:

- a) The anticipated increase in hectarage under cultivation.
- b) The acquisition of imported farm machinery like tractors from the German Democratic Republic for each centre.
- c) Benz trucks from Federal Republic of Germany for each centre.
- d) Fuel costs - considering most of these were far from district centres.
- e) Food and medical supplies to settlers.
- f) Training expenses for settlers in accounting agricultural and medical funds.

The other approach might lie in paying the children for whatever work they do at the centres and teaching them to use

their money wisely even to help their parents so that they develop a sense of financial responsibility: UNICEF NEWS Issue 121 cites a case of a boy in Amman, Jordan who is helped to work to earn some money. He develops a responsible approach to financial matters.

... With the money I save sometimes I am able to go to the movies. I like the films and I dream sometimes that I am the film hero, fighting everything coming his way, meeting a rich man's daughter, falling in love and marrying her, and then inheriting her father's business. I also have to save money for the bad days in winter when it rains and I cannot go out to work. I need to save money because I want to buy some land and become a farmer....

(Salameh Ne matt)

(UNICEF NEWS ISSUE 121 p.21)

This is the spirit in which the Zambian reformed youth should be encouraged to invest his honour.

CONSTRAINTS AND EVALUATION OF RURAL RECONSTRUCTION CENTRES

At the outset of discussion on RRCs we have complimentary remarks by President Kaunda and favourable comments of the Youth League as well as published expectations of the Rural Reconstruction Centres. One can see that the entire Zambian leadership invested so much in the centres and expected to reap and harvest handsomely for posterity. The thinking of the leadership was that once the centres were operational

unemployment for adults as well as for school leavers would be a thing of the past. Had they succeeded to full capacity perhaps today the problem of child labour would have been reduced considerably. All school leavers would be absorbed in useful courses offered at Rural Reconstruction Centres. Indeed there would be no desertions from rural areas to urban areas in search of work or schools, as all rural areas would be effective bright spots for development sparked at Rural Reconstruction Centres.

This was not to be so. In the first place these centres were initiated at Presidential and leadership levels without prior serious planning and consultations with the people both in rural and urban districts. So there was no effective support from them, if anything, many rural leaders tried to put spanners in the works. They wanted to see the centres fail so that rural people would not be condemned to the bush but could also travel and enjoy bright lights in towns.

Military leadership of the centres was hated by many rural people. The behaviour of some young centre leaders from the Army helped only to destroy the morale of an already suspicious rural community. "The Government is trying to turn all our children into soldiers" many chiefs and headmen would be heard to say, although enrolment was voluntary.

Finding good arable land with plenty of water was not always easy. As such areas were already occupied by villagers under customary law and practice. So where difficulties arose on

these grounds, the resulting centre was doomed to fail for lack of support.

Transport to centres by settlers was arranged by the army but once separated these settlers and their parents could not interact for lack of transport. When parents did not see their children they became anxious.

Eventually, only Kambilumbilu Centre in Ndola Rural and Kanakantapa Centre in Lusaka Rural remained as successful centres. As already stated in Chapter V the reason was simple. These centres became show pieces for tourists. The Japanese and other nationalities have poured in a lot of aid in the way of schools, clinics and training centres.

With the advent of the Third Republic in November, 1991, the new administration was quick to condemn the military elements of the centres. The Youth League of UNIP died with its leadership in the Second Republic. Eastern European leanings of these centres have since come to an abrupt end. The philosophy of Humanism propounded by former President Kaunda and all that it stood for have been quietly buried. There are no adequate Rural Reconstruction Centres to absorb school leavers.

What other reasons could have made the Rural Reconstruction Centres to fail? Was it not too much to expect young people in the prime of their youth or even younger to be labelled "drop-outs" plucked from their parents and cast in the wilds of thick tropical forests in Zambia to open "the country and

revolutionise rural areas as places of "milk and honey" in development? Should not these young settlers have started by learning skills from agricultural and other institutions already existing in towns in order to "learn the ropes" rather than going to the bush raw." Why were the settlers provided with food and even uniforms? Was it too much for them to start working for their living instead of being fully spoilt! Once called "drop-outs" they already wore the stigma of failure. Farming is a difficult profession from which to expect successful results in a period under five years. For children if success did not show up in a year or two they got discouraged thereafter, hence the desertions.

These may be some of the reasons for the failure of the Rural Reconstruction Centres.

In order to develop rural Zambia for agriculture and employment Zambia should perhaps have started with traditional farming areas such as the Southern Province, Central Province and Eastern Province where the early commercial farmers both expatriate and Zambian had succeeded. Farming institutions should have been established in these Provinces for youths. Their success would itself attract school leavers and their parents to these new schemes. Of RRC's, people used to say "why does the leadership not lead the way to the land? Leaders want to remain comfortable in towns and instead rusticate the children in rural areas."

In the early 1960s in Malawi, President Kamuzu Banda

encouraged his Ministers to own farms initially run by commercial farmers from South Africa until the Ministers learned the skills and appreciated farming. That is learning by example. With the decision of Malawians to democratise their nation, former Ministers will go to the land with the right skills. The same cannot be said of Zambian Ministers of Kaunda's era. Most of them ended poor.

6. DR. MUSHOTA: SCOPE AND EXTENT OF CHILD ABUSE AND CHILD NEGLECT IN RURAL AND URBAN ZAMBIA - STUDY OF

In Chapter V. I quoted Dr. Mushota in relation to children in domestic service and their pay structure. In this Chapter I would like to give some details about his research project in terms of similarities and differences between his study and mine. I find his observations on child labour very complimentary to my findings.

Dr. Mushota's research project was sponsored by Oxfam, the Catholic Secretariat in Zambia and the national lottery called Pick-a-Lot. The theme was on "Child Neglect in Rural and Urban Zambia." The study focused its attention on common forms of child abuse and child neglect which included child labour, food vending, sexual abuse, child dumping, child molesting and street begging.

It was an exploratory and in-depth study of the problem through detailed case studies and interviews with relevant authorities in Zambia, such as villagers, farmers, government officials, missionaries, miners and religious people. In his

own words, states:-

The purpose of this research is primarily to gauge the extent and scope of child abuse and child neglect in rural and urban areas. The research purports not only to show the scope and extent of the problem but also to give it context and content. That is, we attempted to analyse the issues in question within the framework of their occurrence. Circumstances, are, we assume, as important if not more important than, the extent or scope for the latter can only be best understood if we know the breeding conditions within which they occur. (Mushota 1987 p.2)

Briefly, Mushota's concern centred around four questions, namely:-

- a) The forms child abuse and child neglect take within the Zambian cultural context;
- b) The extent of the problem in both rural and urban Zambia;
- c) The causes of the problem; and
- d) The possible solutions to the problem.

He states that "the research is primarily exploratory rather than final. It aims at raising further issues rather than settling them once and for all".

In contrast to this, my research project has isolated and dealt with child labour as one of the forms of child abuse. The thrust of the project is on child labour. Mushota's study is on several forms of child abuse and neglect. Mine is a

detailed analysis of one form of child abuse, that is child labour. My study is equally exploratory. Again, whereas Mushota's study is on Zambia alone, mine has a comparative element. It looks at six other countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America and even briefly at Great Britain in an effort to understand the problem of child labour, in terms of the extent, the conditions under which children work, causes of child labour and the effect of child labour on the children themselves and the economies of the developing countries.

As already stated, Mushota's study was sponsored by voluntary organisations who were keen to assist in alleviating the problems of the children of Zambia. The report does not state how much money was spent on the exercise nor does it specifically pin down the number of people who helped in gathering information. It is a useful document that gives a broad outline of experience of adult and young Zambians in both rural and urban areas of the country under the economic hardships brought about by the falling copper prices and rising cost of living. Mushota has very ably highlighted the hazards faced by the working children in towns, for instance he records:-

The hot dry season (September - late November), ushers in its own misery. The months of September and October in particular are too hot for one to stand out in the open throughout the day. Sellers with official stands are by far better off than the labouring young boys with little

income to afford a stand.....the small-time vendor faces muddy, soily conditions of the market place. Poor refuse collection system leads to refuse decomposition and the resultant pollutants become health hazards to the unwary and bare-footed young sellers. Added to this are the many occasions of being soaked by the unpredictable tropical rains. Chances of catching pneumonia, dysentery and related diseases are extremely high due to lack of adequate physical protection and to the prevailing unsanitary conditions respectively. The majority of neglected children covered during our research were indeed poorly protected against the elements of nature. Very few, slightly less than 14 per cent, had shoes or decent clothes and only one in ten could afford an umbrella (1987 p.131).

None of them was wearing a raincoat at all.

In this passage Mushota portrays the very often unwritten hazards facing child labourers not only in Zambia but in the developing world. Very often we tend to think of hazards as conditions underground the mines, or children involved in construction work without protective clothing. We appear to take for granted natural conditions as some of the hazards of tropical Africa. Many working children go through weather hazards in their efforts to make ends meet. Mushota also accurately describes a market experience, which both the old and the young undergo.

Once in the market place,..... their only investment is physical energy, alertness for potential clients and a good persuasive language to attract customers. Physical energy and stamina are the most important prerequisites in this exercise. Labour service activities normally involve heaving bags of mealie meal, drawing water for the women running cafeterias in the market and off-loading bags of vegetables, fruits..... (1987 p.132)

Such is the lot of the working child in the informal sector of a marketer. The loads are often strenuous for the working child. But in the face of stiff competition from adults and bigger children, the young worker finds himself or herself in hushing and jostling conditions as a daily preoccupation. Hunger and fatigue often accompany children's long days of toil.

On street begging, Mushota confirms my experience that there are two groups of children engaged in this trade. First there are those who are directly employed by their parents, most of whom are handicapped in one way or another, to directly beg for money or assist their parents to do so. This is the most common group in cities like Lusaka. The second category involves children who engage themselves in street begging without the physical presence of their parents. Mushota describes this group as "the beggar 'sells' his or her sympathy or plight to the potential donor, who had to assess whether to 'buy' the beggar's message for alms or to ignore

it." Efforts by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security to discourage street begging by offering to send beggars to their original districts have not succeeded at all because beggars, especially the handicapped argue that some of them were born in urban areas. They have no close relatives in their rural districts. Still some argue that their sufferings will be worse in places where they have lost contact with the people. Some look down on rural areas.

In this study Mushota warned that begging was on the increase and that the age group was getting younger. He has been proved right. Today, five years later the capital city of Lusaka is full of beggars of all ages. They position themselves in vantage places like traffic light points and along the verandahs of popular shops. The majority of these are children between the ages of 5 to 15 years. This development is the result of rapid inflation of the Kwacha currency coupled with the ever increasing population growth, on the one hand and unemployment and high cost of living on the other. The other aspect of child labour Mushota covers is domestic work.

On the employment of children in the domestic service recent trends confirm Mushota's theory of a "high social risk". Girls and boys of about 13 to 14 years are preferred to older ones. It is an age group which can be relied upon for demanding less money than older ones and for not threatening social upheavals like those described by Mushota.

such reluctance on the part of women has to do with what we have termed as "the high social risk" implied in employing older girls. Sixty-eight (68%) per cent of those interviewed felt that such workers could easily flirt with their husbands or their boy friends, especially if the female servant is attractive and always well dressed. Jealous thus plays an important part in my decision to procure the services of female domestic servants.

My investigations also agree with Mushota's that children working in the domestic service risk long hours of work from say 06.00 hours to about 20.00 hours after cleaning the table and washing dishes. For those children who want to continue with their schooling at the same time they often give up schooling. For those domestic servants who happen to be distant relatives of the household, insults, harsh treatment and lack of sympathy have been reported.

Some are even paid in kind like a shirt or dress at the end of some months. Mushota's study also experienced this view point from his respondents.

This group of house servants does not enjoy regular monetary exchange for their services but are normally given tokens such as a day at the saloon, a "free" dress or pair of shoes once in a month without being consulted in most cases..... Feelings of insecurity, of loneliness, and of not being wanted are likely to haunt

these children throughout their adulthood.

In winding up Dr. Mushota's findings on child labour I must admit are very supportive of my own findings. I must repeat that his is a study on many aspects of child abuse and child neglect but we are in total agreement over those issues affecting child labour which are my full pre-occupation. Although his report came out five years ago there appears to be no improvement in the lot of the working child. On the contrary, with the increased unemployment, increased population, shortages of school places and growing inflation the scourge of child labour in Zambia appears to have increased in intensity.

His study has limitations which he has acknowledged:-

The research project covers a wide range of issues encompassing child labour, abandonment, molestation, malnutrition, physical and mental torture of children. From the range of the parameters covered and the wide region embraced, we cannot expect the work to be as thorough and comprehensive as we would otherwise. Time and resources could not permit us to obliterate this obstacle.

He admits that the research period was originally scheduled to last six months only, but in fact he took just more than a year to complete his study. He also admits that although he had chosen two rural districts which combine fishing and cattle rearing, "yet the districts cannot be treated as

typical of what takes place in rural areas". He thinks that cultural and sociological influences between urban and rural areas were more distinctive influences.

In his study, Mushota had to deal with criminal matters such as child abandonment, rape and parental neglect. the study involved counter-checking of information with police and other law agents. The field was too wide for an initial survey on abuse and neglect. The concept of "abuse" or "neglect" of children is that the child always experiences physical emotional and psychological injury either directly or indirectly as a result of that particular conduct. He is always on the defensive when subjected to questions.

In my case, children enjoyed telling their experiences of success at work and promise for the future in their endeavours. The hazards they experienced at work were compensated by profit margins and feelings of maturing through such experiences. Child labour therefore in my case implies the use of children as sources of man-power for gainful or even non-gainful purposes. The definition covers both formal and informal employment of children.

- Child abuse, according to Professor David G. Gil (1978) can be defined as

The intentional, non-accidental use of physical force, or intentional, non-accidental acts of mission, on the part of a parent or other caretaker interacting with a child in his or her care, aimed at hurting, injuring or

destroying that child.

Mushota admits modifying this definition in his study to include strangers, "the abuser need not be a caretaker or parent at the time of omission or injury. A child could be abused by a passerby, a parent or caretaker." He goes on to suggest that some cases of child sexual molestation involved strangers, even though sexual abuse is usually commonly practised among relations rather than strangers. Girls' defamation is rather too restrictive in that it is confined to the physical aspect of hurting, injuring or destroying the child. As we know abuse could and often times does entail psychological and emotional results of torture or injury or mental destruction. So Mushota's definition is given as

the intentional, non-accidental use of physical force, verbal or other expressional means or the intentional, non-accidental acts of omission on the part of a parent, caretaker or any adult or older sibling interacting with a child, aimed at psychologically, emotionally or physically hurting, injuring or destroying that child.

This definition is very embarrassing and it transcends time space and geographical limits. It answers the usual hairsplitting queries of the legally inclined. It accommodates child labour in the informal sector when it is obtained by force or unreasonable time span such as working for over twelve hours a day.

I believe Mushota's problem arose from determining as to

whether cases of abuse and neglect arose out of parental negligence or were related to parental ignorance. They could also arise from customary practice. For example, slapping a child or even giving it a good hiding could be treated as corrective measure in the African setting. Starving a child to malnutrition level could be the result of not having food rather than a deliberate desire to punish the child. May be a parent has too many mouths to feed for the food to go round. Yet the desire to have many children is held in high esteem in an African community. It is often argued that it is better to have more children than fewer so that in the event of the demise of some there is a good chance of still remaining with a reasonable number.

In the developing world the dictates of the International Monetary Fund is often blamed for Structural Adjustment Programmes which weaken the local currency to devaluation or inflation that causes hardships on the population especially among the poor and needy. Under these circumstances people's budgets do not always include education and medical expenses for children, a negligence which could be cited by Mushota as serious. He says

poverty in the case of malnutrition takes a heavy toll on the quality of children's lives for it determines, in relative and absolute terms, the availability of food quantum-wise and qualitatively.

On child abuse Mushota maintains that it is more likely to be

higher among families experiencing relative poverty given the arduous burden to adjusting to situation beyond their control, the intensity with which we involve ourselves as family members with other family members, the competing claims of various activities we undertake at home, the urge to influence other members, especially younger siblings, within the family, and the pressures we experience at work. This is right in that poverty is the main cause of child labour as well. Where parents are economically comfortable incidents of child labour amongst their members are very rare if not completely absent. One other interesting coincidence in our studies is the lack of sexual looseness in girls of my study group 8 to 15 years. Mushota's town figures show that it is only after 15 years that girls admit to habits of prostitution. My own findings confirm this. So at least on morality the situation in Zambian towns is much healthier than it is say in Kenya, the Philippines and Latin America. Mushota study shows a high percentage of malnutrition.

Kwashiorkor	50% of admitted children
Marasmus	30% of admitted children
Marasmic Kwashiorkor	20% of admitted children

The figures were taken from Lewanika General Hospital in Western Zambia for the period January 1985 to July, 1986. As already argued above the causes for this state of health could not be pinned to abuse and neglect alone as ignorance in feeding habits has been demonstrated by many urban as well as

rural parents. Again as earlier stated, the economic situation in Zambia over the last ten years has been very much on the decline. The above are my comments on Mushota's study as related to my own study. They are complimentary in many ways.

CONCLUSION AND EVALUATION OF THE ZAMBIAN SITUATION

In this Chapter we have discussed efforts by world organisations such as UNICEF to combat the problem of child labour. The Summit on the issue serves as a directive to state governments to take action. In Zambia this directive was well received. The year 1992 was declared a year for the Zambian child. The President, Mr. Chiluba issued four directives as stated in Chapter VI.

These Presidential instructions have not been carried out yet, but they indicate the importance that the government attaches to the problem and how receptive the nation was to the dictates of the world summit.

In this good climate, UNICEF and other international bodies undertook field research on "street children." The findings are useful to national strategies on combating the problem and also very useful to academicians doing research on the subject.

Voluntary organisations such as DAPP are in the field combating "street children" problems. There is room for improvement on the methods adopted, but a genuine effort is

being made to occupy the street child more positively.

The Chapter also contains an analytical consideration of Dr. Mushota's study on those aspects which hinge on child labour. Although the study was undertaken five years ago, I find it very supportive of my own findings on the subject of child labour. While Mushota's study was on child abuse and child neglect focussing on child dumping, child molesting, child labour, street begging and sexual abuse in Zambia my own investigation was on child labour in Zambia but with a comparative Chapter on the situation in developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Evaluation of the Zambian Situation

At this point in time we are able to evaluate our experiences of the situation in Zambia. What we set ourselves to find out from Chapter I to Chapter VII has crystallised. There is child labour in Zambia, but of a mild form than is being experienced in say India, Philippines and Brazil. Projects on which children are engaged are mainly the product of a modern African society with leanings to the informal sector in most of the townships. Both rural and urban children enjoy the traditional attachment of their parents and guardians. They go out to work with their blessings and very often they work with them, especially girls. They work to improve on their family budgets. Even children working on their own claim to support their families financially.

There is a shortage of school places in the country. The

government is doing all it can to improve the situation, but in general the Zambian family is so squeezed economically that priority is given to working. Where a choice exists between school and work both parents and children would choose work to survive.

The efforts of the International Monetary Fund and other Monetary Houses to assist Zambia to recover from a state of near bankruptcy are genuine but in these initial stages they cause more frustration and suffering to the common man. Recuperation is at a slow pace. The shortcomings of the government agencies in fulfilling International Monetary Fund specifications are prolonging the sufferings.

On the issue of child labour specifically, abolition is out of the question.

The people will not entertain such a move. They will, however, consider suggestions for working children to join trade unions to fight for their rights on the job. They would welcome training facilities for children to enable them obtain recognition of their skills in the form of certificates.

The Government should try and meet the people half way by saying they will recognise the need for children from say 12 years onwards to work, and offer short courses at welfare centres and development centres to improve the children's skills in return for the younger children to be completely barred from work. It is possible that parents and children themselves might welcome their under 12 years children to hang

on at home until they were 12 years.

The curriculum in Zambian schools should change with times. More practical subjects should replace colonial styled education. Schools should teach children to get into the industrial world in their teens if they cannot continue schooling for economic or intellectual reasons. This knowledge will equip them for the little shops that I have come across in my interviews. Holidays should as much as possible coincide with harvesting seasons so that parents do not have to "steal" children from schools to harvest for themselves or for money.

All the outstanding people interviewed seem to condone child labour as a necessary dose for adult efficiency. They cite their own pasts. These represent millions of parents who would not wish to abolish child labour.

In the 1980s the Zambian government cannot be said to have had any fresh initiatives for children in the economic field. After the disaster of the Rural Reconstruction Centres in the late 1970s. In the educational field more schools and the University of the Copperbelt were opened. But the country's worry is finding avenues of work for the school leavers.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY OF STUDY AND CONCLUSION

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A. Summary

In this Chapter it is necessary first to give a brief summary of the contents of this thesis and secondly to wind up with conclusions of the study. Under conclusions will also fall conceived suggestions on advocacy and the way forward to a healthier Zambian society. First, the summary.

In Chapter I we discuss the problem of Child Labour as not being peculiar to Zambia alone but obtaining in the whole world both developed and developing and both urban and rural. We are awakened to the fact that the problem is however more acute in the developing countries. We follow up this realisation in Chapter III by examining the problem in six developing countries. Still in Chapter I we raise three hypotheses for consideration while defining the terms - child and labour. We briefly look at child labour in Zambia and the laws protecting the child and wind up the chapter with what we consider is the significance of the study to the country.

Chapter II details forms and origins of child labour. We take England a developed country as an example of a country that experienced the problem during the industrial revolution in the 18th and the 19th Centuries. The causes are similar to

those obtaining in developing countries. In this chapter we examine closely origins and forms of the problem in developing countries and in particular we examine the analysis of these causes from the writings and findings of outstanding writers on the subject some of whom are named in the abstract.

In Chapter III we examine child labour in six developing countries to help us understand by way of comparison what is happening in Zambia. These countries are India and Philippines in Asia; Brazil and Mexico in Latin America; and Kenya and Nigeria in Africa. All these countries have a colonial history like Zambia making it appropriate. We discover that in all these countries, like Zambia, the trend has been a rural to urban movement of people and particularly children. Falling standards of living resulting from economic problems have accentuated the problem of child labour. In India the practice of bonding and caste system perpetuate child labour and traditionally justify the iniquity. In Philippines, prostitution and deep sea fishing account for most child abuses. In Mexico and Brazil child labour takes the form of street abuse of children living and making a livelihood by begging, stealing and molesting society. In this region child labour acquires the name of "Street Children" because it is in the streets of the cities that the problem is openly obtaining. In Nigeria the practice of religious exclusion of women from society finds children as bearers of woman's daily transactions on hired basis. In

Kenya industrial hazards occupy children in major towns, like Nairobi.

Chapter IV brings us back to Zambia for the history of labour in general and the development of child labour in particular. We trace urbanisation and labour from the advent of British rule in the country and the development of the mining industry. We also closely look at traditional use of child labour in the African setting under tribes and clans.

Chapter V traces the rise of child labour from the time of independence in 1964 to 1992. In this Chapter we examine economic and social visisitudes of Zambia with population migration from rural areas deprived of active manpower to urban areas in search of employment and schooling. This movement assumes high proportions as economic mismanagement takes its toll in a misgoverned independent country. We also discover that despite the high rural to urban migration rate of 6.7 per cent, because of improved medical and social facilities Zambia's population is on the increase up to 3.7 per cent. Both increases work against the problem of child labour as the new government cannot cope with educational and work demands. The fall in the price of copper, Zambia's main foreign exchange and the slowness in diversification of the economy cause unsettlement in the crowded Zambian cities. the chapter also looks at the ineffectiveness of the laws of the country on controlling the problem of child labour. Lack of coordination and central control of these laws become a

problem in themselves. Suggestions for improvement are made in the chapter.

Chapter VI dwells on methodology of proving the existence of child labour in the country. A questionnaire is given to a sample figure representing both urban and rural children. Extracts of their replies are given and an analysis is tabulated in percentage form. A variety of occupations are taken into consideration. On the whole, it is acknowledged that the construction world consumes most of child labour.

Chapter VII examines efforts being made by the Government, international community, N.G.O. and churches and individuals to control the scourge of child labour. An evaluation is given at the end of the chapter.

B. Conclusion

In concluding this study, it is necessary to take stock of the information and arguments that have been offered so far.

In Chapter I, we raised three hypotheses, namely, that child labour was prevalent in Zambia despite Zambia's membership of the ILO and acceptance of its child¹ labour conventions; that while laws to protect children from exploitative labour and abuse exist, they are ineffective and that while the Zambian Government has instituted measures to provide education and training opportunities for children, the efforts fall short of the required capacity to cater for all children due to the difficult economic problems the country is facing that militate against continued and increased investment in

education. It has also been observed that in addition to the difficult economic problem, the situation has been exacerbated by the rapid growth of the population whose estimated growth rate is 3.7 per cent per annum.

It is natural that against this background, we should seek to know whether the hypotheses introduced in Chapter I are correct.

Proof of these hypotheses is a matter that must depend on the evidence that has been adduced not only from Zambia case studies but also from study of other countries that are more or less at a similar level of development such as Kenya, Nigeria, India, the Philippines, Mexico and Brazil which we have had occasion to study. In our survey of the six developing countries, we have noted or have been struck by the fact that poverty is a common root cause of child labour and that non-existence or inadequate coverage of universal primary education accentuates and increases the incidence of child labour.

We have also seen that in the six developing countries i.e. India and the Philippines in Asia; Brazil and Mexico in Latin America; and Kenya and Nigeria in Africa, there is a substantial element of migrant child labour and that children are involved in work in various occupations in the urban and rural areas and in both the formal and informal sectors. As we have seen, in Zambia, migrant labour was prevalent even during the 1930's, that is during the early days of the copper

mining industry, and that a system of temporary migrant workers was official policy for sometime until it was replaced slowly when there began to be a marked increase in the number of men who brought their wives to the Copperbelt and spent longer periods there as noted in Chapter IV.

At the same time, the Government policy of encouraging migrant labour to secure and circulate skills and money continued. Thus although some form of training for Africans was permitted it was all geared to returning them to their reserves for fear of congestion in the event of unemployment as expressed in the resolution of the Executive Council in 1939. Further, we have seen that as the Africans were now being joined by their families child labour began to manifest itself in the form of houseboys, gardenboys and babytenders.

The migrant labour situation of the 1930's had virtually come to an end by the late 1940, and certainly by the 1950's. It was more or less replaced, again as we have seen, by the rural-urban-migration which greatly increased the extent of child labour in urban areas since with the increased family, the urban Africans had yet to find some means of supplementing their strained budgets and the engagement of child labour was not only inevitable but was solicited for. The situation created conditions that were conducive to the prevalence of child labour especially with the phenomenal increase in the urban population against the inadequate social amenities such as housing and education, despite horrendous efforts to expand

primary education. Indeed the ever-growing numbers of out-of-school youth who have no choice but to engage in child labour activities of all sorts, has been noted.

We have also observed that the profile of the Zambian population is that of a youthful nature of which 49% of the population is 15 years or under, and that it has also a high rate of growth at 3.7 per cent. Also noted, are the high fertility rate and the declining mortality rate all of which have resulted in the phenomenal increase in the 7-14 years age group which constitutes 22 per cent of the Zambian population, for most of whom facilities to continue their education are not available and are therefore off-loaded on the street. This contributes substantially to the population of the child labour market.

In earlier Chapters, we noted that the situation of child labour has not changed much since the pre-independence days and if anything, child labour has intensified both in extent and or variety, due to the rapid increase in population and to the high rate of urbanisation. Further, the high dependence ratio will continue to exist for some time in view of the largely young population of Zambia and will continue to impose an economic burden on households, thereby causing more out-of-school children to join the labour market to fend for themselves or for their families. The surveys of the other six developing countries and Zambia have revealed the existence of child labour in different forms in rural and

urban areas and in both the formal and informal sectors. In these surveys, we have seen the various factors that are associated with child labour in different situations.

We have also seen the patronage system at work in the Philippines and other countries and how marginalisation and subsequently alienation contribute to child labour.

In most countries we have studied, concealment exists to a greater or lesser extent especially where it is embedded in the socialisation process of the society. In some occupations, we have seen seasonality plays an important role in encouraging child labour such as in strawberry picking in Mexico and in the clothing industry in the Philippines. On the other hand, subcontracting on formal or informal basis exists or may involve large organisations with individual families through middlemen. This situation gives rise to a peculiar kind of monopolistic and exploitative arrangement in so far as the children involved in such contracts are concerned. This combined with the volatility of the market ameliorates the situation.

Cultural norms and values play no mean role especially in Africa, Zambia included, where the extended family system has been exploited while its positive aspects and responsibilities have been ignored, particularly with rapid industrialisation and taking over the traditional way of life.

As the money economy takes root, children of poor households have learned new occupations such as street vending, begging,

prostitution and even theft to supplement household incomes. These situations which also exist in Zambia, are the main thrust of our study. The case studies which have been included in the text amply demonstrate this fact and indicate the nature, variety and extent of child labour in Zambia. As has been seen from the surveys although the problem of child labour manifests itself in different forms in different countries. There are, however, some similarities of major importance in terms of determining what needs to be done and by whom such factors have policy components which need to be elaborated upon carefully before decisions are made.

As in other developing countries cited above, a lot of progress has been made in Zambia since the International Labour Convention on child labour of 1919; but such progress as has been made has not completely eliminated the incidence or intensity of child labour. Further, there is child labour in existence despite the 1919 and other conventions (which have since been ratified), because of the lack of implementation and enforcement. In Zambia, therefore, child labour still exists in spite of the enactment of CAP 505 and 512. In any case, the provisions of such legislation need to be improved so that the law can have teeth to bite on enforcement. Positive measures other than legislation that have since been taken, fall short of the targets. Such measures include inadequate educational facilities due to the poor economic situation.

The ILO Convention and Recommendations have however been useful, as landmarks, on which to base and identify a country's progress towards solving the situation of child labour. For instance, the minimum age Convention of 1973, No.138 and Recommendation No. 146 of 1973, provide guidelines on where, when and under what conditions, children may or may not work. Certification of such provisions in Zambia, has over the years, resulted in progressive legislation to protect the child from abuse and against unhealthy conditions and industrial hazards. As we have seen, however, the legislation has not been very effective against exploitation and abuse due to poverty and unemployment generally among households. Exploitative practices such as low wages for children and poor working conditions are associated with a high incidence of child labour as shown from the Zambian case studies and the surveys of other developing countries such as Kenya, the Philippines and Brazil. These conditions do not only accentuate the state of child labour but also undermine all meaningful efforts towards the eradication of child labour. Accordingly, sustained reduction of the high incidence of child labour should be part of the main effort whose objectives should be along the lines of those elaborated upon by the ILO (Bequele, 1986), abolition and protection. Indeed, any meaningful social policy on child labour should achieve these two objectives of preventing children from working and protecting them if they are already working. These constitute

the abolition and protective goals of child policy.

Abolition of child_labour in concrete terms rather than in theory can perhaps be achieved if universal primary education is attained. In Zambia, this could be attained, although with some difficulty, because of considerable expansion in primary and secondary education that has taken place. There have been increases in enrolment at primary and secondary levels. A high ratio of enrolment means that more children are in school and not in the labour market. The converse is also true, by increasing educational facilities and increasing access to such facilities to the socially and economically disadvantaged groups in the society. In Zambia, every child has a right to an education and yet not every child can exercise this right because of inadequate facilities. However, they were not and must not be denied this right to education because of their being socially and economically deprived.

But unwillingly this is the case when parents take into account the real economic cost of school as opposed to opportunity costs which they suffer when children attend school. The Educational Reform (1977) document tried to redress such imbalances but success has not yet been achieved, the Nation's efforts with regard to the majority of the children, mainly due to the lack of financial resources required for the necessary expansion.

Since the abolition of child labour cannot be easily or immediately achieved in a low per capita income country like

Zambia because of poverty, then the 'protection' of the children who may be found to be working is of paramount importance. Minimum targets to be achieved, as exemplified by the ILO Conventions adopted and ratified by the relevant provision in the legislation such as CAP 505 and CAP 512, have been set as we have seen. The provisions have concentrated on the improvement of the conditions and the environment under which children may or may not work and on setting the minimum age after which children can be allowed to work in each industry. This could also be done by ensuring that adequate measures are taken to protect the youngest children (8-12 years) who are the most vulnerable on the lines suggested at the end of Chapter VII under conclusion and evaluations.

While abolition will depend on massive expansion of educational facilities and on improvement of the economic status of each household, protection will depend not only on wide coverage of legislative provisions but also on proper coordination, amongst the various agencies and enforcement. Wide coverage of national laws for protection could be beyond the institutional and enforcement capacity of the nation because the inspectorate is ill-equipped or inadequately staffed. This is the case with the Zambian situation as we have seen. Lack of enforcement can and does arise from complex rules and regulations; lack of clear delineation of responsibility for enforcement in addition to the ill-equipped and poorly staffed inspectorates. This in Zambia, arises from

the complex situation whereby responsibility is shared by various Ministries each of which has its own ways of looking at the situation of the child.

There are educational aspects which are the responsibility of the Ministry of General Education, welfare and counselling belong to the Ministry responsible for Labour. The safety aspects are covered by the provision of the Factories Act under the same Ministry. The health aspects are the responsibility of the Ministry of Health. Thus, fragmentation and delineation of responsibilities are important components of any policy that may be formulated to combat child labour in Zambia.

A problem area that still persists despite several measures, is the inadequate dissemination of information to arouse awareness in society. Ironically, the lack of awareness has been prevalent despite the legislative measures and the adoption and ratification of ILO conventions.

In fact, fragmentation seems to deter concerted effort for dissemination of information about the real situation of child labour in Zambia which this study has revealed. However, dissemination of information and the bringing about of awareness cannot be the responsibilities of the Government alone. Non-governmental and governmental organizations need to join hands to promote public awareness in society amongst various groups including the disadvantaged groups themselves. Such efforts would involve carrying out extensive educational

campaigns and information services on the evils and consequences of child labour. Both governmental and non-governmental organisations can play an advocacy role and also identify work situations in which unsatisfactory conditions exist and cruelty to children is perpetrated. Obviously, monitoring mechanisms should be in place to function alongside efforts made to combat child labour.

Arising from this, there are a number of steps that recommend themselves easily and have future policy implications in the Zambian situation:

- i) Firstly, dissemination of information to arouse awareness is inadequate. Efforts should be made to mount educational campaigns, to mobilise interest groups to play an advocacy role, and identify child labour situation in the country that may need legislative, administrative or other corrective measures.
- ii) Secondly, since child labour and child welfare in general will always involve several ministries and agencies, an inter-agency coordinating body could be established which could pressurise and assist all concerned in the delivery of services. This would work towards the ultimate elimination or abolition of child labour and accord protection on more or less permanent basis;
- iii) Thirdly, the fragmentation or delineation of responsibilities should be critically examined to bring about rationalisation and ensure the maximum utilisation

of available resources so that a lasting impact could be achieved in this regard. This would serve to minimise the problem of child labour and child welfare and thus enable the physical, mental, educational and social development of the child to proceed smoothly; and

iv) Fourthly, the Government should continue to increase educational facilities and concomitantly improving the country's economy so that the economic status of households could also improve to reduce poverty - the root cause of child labour.

v) The Zambian nation should implement conclusion and evaluation of Chapter VII page 352.

These measures have both short and long term implications and no one measure can be said to be a panacea to the scourge of child labour, about which some people are not overly aware of even though they may practice it.

On the recent defeat of the One Party Government of the United National Independence Party, on 1st November 1991, which had ruled for twenty-seven years without opposition (characterised by economic woes and fall in the standard of living of the people of Zambia), and the accession to power by the Movement for Multiparty Democracy signifies the people's desire for a change of Government. The return to Multiparty politics is heralded as a progressive move which will usher into the country democracy and economic development, which in turn will render a heavy blow on social evils like child labour. It remains to be seen whether the expectations of the people will be realised. The youth of Zambia who now comprise the

majority of the population as stated previously, are very optimistic of this turn of events in the political history of Zambia.

Evidence in this research suggests that child labour in Zambia is of the scale of 'child work' in the main. Apart from the hazards of breaking stones for building purposes and the risks of stealing in which some children are involved, there was in the research no evidence of children working underground in the Mines. Additionally, there was no evidence of children working in existing industries in the formal sector, or their involvement in prolonged hours of harzardous work. Although the majority of the children stayed with their parents at home and appeared to be at harmony with their immediate relatives, it must be noted that working children enjoyed no leisure time at any point in time between 1924 and 1992.

The key to combating child labour is the children themselves. This has been amply demonstrated in other developing countries, most notably Brazil, where children have played a key role in advocating for their rights. In this connection, Zambian Youth Movements should be encouraged to pressurise for their rights at national and international fora. There is urgent need for codification under a central command of all laws affecting children as is reportedly the case in Ghana.

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